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Enver Hoxha's Widow To Be Arrested for Corruption

AU2908122191 Paris AFP in English 1155 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 29 (AFP) — The widow of the late Enver Hoxha, the founder of Communist Albania, is expected to be arrested shortly on corruption charges, a government source told AFP Thursday [29 August].

The minister, who wished to remain anonymous, said Nexhmije Hoxha was likely to be imprisoned — along with former prime minister [title as received] Manush Myftiu.

Nexhmije Hoxha, her two sons, Sokol and Ilir and daughter Pranvera were reported to be in the capital, Tirana.

The non-communist RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE newspaper said Hoxha's widow was under investigation for corruption and misappropriation of 300,000 dollars of state money.

Fifteen former members of the Albanian Communist Party Politburo, including Myftiu, were also said to be under investigation.

The main opposition Democratic Party has launched a major campaign denouncing the privileges of the former communist leaders. None are so far reported to have been brought to court.

Hoxha ruled Albania for forty years from 1945 to 1985.

Alia Receives Kosovo Activist Anton Cetta

AU2808192591 Tirana ATA in English 1800 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 28 (ATA)—On August 28, the president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia, received at his seat the distinguished personality of Kosovo, Prof. Anton Cetta.

The president spoke to the renowned activist of the blood feud reconciliation among the Albanians in Yugoslavia about the honourable reputation he enjoys throughout the country.

The question of national unity, the president said further on, is today the most important thing for the Albanians. Union of all the forces, without distinction, is for Kosovo a fundamental premise for victory. Its legitimate rights cannot be ensured and the threats posed to it by the Big Serbs cannot be coped with unless all the forces unite.

Unity is so much needed to Albania, too. There can be no stabilization, no genuine democratization or realization of the various reforms, no transition onto the market economy, etc., without an understanding among the people.

Democracy belongs not only to a part of the population, or only to a kind of ideology. Unfortunately, from various directions fuel is added to the fire of hatred in the name of reconciliation, of division in the name of union, of revenge in the name of democracy. Whom does this serve? No-one, but the enemies of the Republic of Albania and of Kosovo, the Big Serbs, more than anyone else.

The president said further that today the question of Kosovo and of the Albanians in Yugoslavia makes up the greatest worry for all the people. The Serbs are gathering all kinds of forces in Kosovo and are instigating riots there. The dismissal from work of about six thousand teachers of the secondary schools reflects both the anti-Albanian policy, and their provoking aims towards the Albanians. But now the world is changing. And the denationalizing plans,as well as chauvinism have become outdated.

It is of great importance, he said, that Kosovo has in its fold learned people, who are able to distinguish the fundamental interests of he people from everything of second-hand importance. Unity can be realised only by relying on such interests. The hard times prove the wisdom and patriotism of the leaders.

Prof. Anton Cetta voiced his satisfaction over visiting Albania after 11 years. On behalf of the people of Kosovo he thanked President Ramiz Alia for his energetic participation in the United Nations Organisation, for putting up to the highest international forum the problem of Kosovo and for the continuous support Albania has rendered to Kosovo. Speaking of the blood feud conciliation undertaking, Prof. Anton Cetta said that it was transformed into a people's movement for national rapprochement and reconciliation, internationalizing the Kosovo question. Then he hailed the democratic developments in Albania and underscored that it has won the sympathy of Europe owing to the rapid rates this process was carried out.

In this meeting opinions were exchanged on the situation in Albania, the situation created in Yugoslavia, the most correct solution to the cause of our Kosovar brothers and of the Albanians in other territories in Yugoslavia, etc.

Alia Stresses Need To Enforce Land Law

AU2908191991 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic, met today with Deputy Premier Zydi Pepa, chairman of the Government Land Commission; Nexhmedin Dumani, minister of agriculture; and Resmi Osmani, secretary of state for agriculture.

These officials informed Alia about the situation created in the countryside by the initial enforcement of the Land Law. It was said that in some districts, especially Shkoder and Tropoje, there are delays in creating local land distribution commissions. It was also pointed out

that those commissions that have been formed are working clumsily, which could prevent peasants from completing their daily tasks. The representatives of the Government Land Commission stressed the need for all political forces, state organs, deputies, and the media to support the district and local commissions.

Alia drew attention to the need to enforce the Land Law uniformly throughout the country. The commissions, government, the political forces must cooperate in order not to allow the dissolution of the cooperatives on the basis of narrow personal interests. We must be aware of reality, he said. Land distribution will reawaken old enmities. [passage indistinct] Land distribution does not mean the restoration of old boundaries or the destruction of common property. The main thing is that there must be justice and understanding.

Alia then instructed the Agriculture Ministry to prepare for the introduction of a market economy in the countryside, which will necessitate changes in the procurement and retail systems. The government is asking for food from abroad, but much of our agricultural and dairy production is wasted because it is not handled properly by the responsible authorities. The enforcement of the Land Law, the president said, is the most important economic reform at present. Under this law, economic relations in the countryside will change radically. These changes will affect all aspects of the national economy.

Puke Land Shortage Hampers Land Law Enforcement

AU2908193391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Frrok Lecaj report]

[Text] Our Puke correspondent Frrok Lecaj has informed us today about some problems that have arisen in this district in connection with the enforcement of the Land Law. It has been calculated that 0.9 dynym [1 dynym=0.1 hectare] of land is due to each inhabitant [words indistinct] but is highly acidic and infertile. Most of these small strips are in mountainous terrain, and scattered in a patchwork on the slopes. Because some of the villages in this district are on the shores of reservoirs created by hydroelectric stations, they have been left virtually without land. This has greatly hampered the enforcement of the Land Law in many villages. After the first distribution of land under Council of Ministers Decree No. 151, which gave each family four dynyms, there is no more land in this district to be distributed, apart from a little new land for clearance in the mountains, far from the residential areas. This small amount of land has also been divided into small, unproductive plots.

In order to solve this problem, 68 of the district's 73 villages have created land distribution commissions which, in cooperation with the Agricultural Section and the ministry, are studying the redistribution of the land according to the population of each village.

The problem now is the grant of land to families of those villages whose land has been flooded by the reservoirs. The families of these villages are expecting the fairest possible solution of this question, but this has not been achieved so far.

Kosovo Paper Interviews Prime Minister Bufi

AU3008060191 Pristina BUJKU in Albanian 23 Aug 91 pp 1, 4-5

["Exclusive" interview with Prime Minister Ylli Bufi by BUJKU correspondents Gani Mulliqi and Mehmet Gjata; place and date not given: "Overcoming People's Crisis of Confidence"]

[Text] The attention of the Albanian people on both sides of the border and throughout the Albanian diaspora is focused on the current period of change in Albania. Overcoming this highly important phase for the Albanian people with as little pain as possible, at a time when realignments in Europe are taking place on the basis of a new order of genuine democracy and at a time when hegemonist forces in one part of Europe are still threatening the one-half of the Albanian people who live on their own territories in Yugoslavia, is a primary preoccupation of all those who have the duty of laying the corner stones of this new citadel now being built. Albanian Prime Minister Ylli Bufi, in his exclusive interview with BUJKU, speaks about the present concerns of the Albanian Government and state.

[BUJKU] Mr. Prime Minister, in this phase of political changes, Albania is passing through a serious situation. Tell us, what are the main directions of the Albanian Government's work to overcome this situation?

[Bufi] This is true. Albania is currently in a serious economic and social condition. I would say this is true for two reasons. First, we are at a very important moment of transition, to a new political system, in other words, moving from a totalitarian to a democratic system and from a centralized economy to a market economy. Thus, at this important and what I would call historic moment, Albania is faced with great difficulties. However, second, these difficulties are connected with an extremely serious economic situation as a result of mistaken policies for some years. These two factors together have put us in a very difficult situation, in which industry is working at about one-half of its capacity; the former organizational structures have almost totally collapsed in the countryside; our balance of payments deficit is about $350 million, or approximately the value of our country's annual exports; and the state budget deficit is almost exactly one-half of the total budget. I can say that the economy is almost paralyzed, and the results of this are evident on the market with pronounced shortages even of food, as well as other goods. This leads to high social tensions, because people despair in such a situation, and do not only despair, but also view their future with a feeling of insecurity. In a word, the economic crisis has deepened the social crisis.

This is the main difficulty facing the government in carrying out its stabilization program.

The Main Aim—Economic Stabilization

[BUJKU] What measures is the government taking to alleviate Albania's social problems?

[Bufi] The government is called the National Stability Government and its main task is to stabilize the economic situation in its period of office of approximately one year. However, I must emphasize one thing: I do not consider stabilizing the country to mean stabilizing the former economic and administrative structures. On the contrary, the only way to stabilize the economy and life throughout the country is to introduce and apply economic reform. I say "economic reform," but it is first of all a political reform, because in the final analysis it involves changing the system. Thus, our main commitment is to introduce and push through the reform. The new Land Law, for instance, is the first step in the direction of economic reform, because it guarantees the private ownership of land. Thus, for the first time in about 40 years, our peasants possess land. This constitutes the basis of a market economy in the countryside, which must doubtless be supported by other economic measures and many investments in order to ensure the necessary material basis, such as machinery, irrigation, fertilizers, etc. This is our goal, so that privatization in the countryside will not fail. The government and parliament also recently approved a law supporting free initiative and private property in the towns. We think that this is also a very important law, because, in this situation of passivity and insecurity, it will encourage people to act to find the shortest road, the most direct road for their economic interests. This is the road of reform. In this reform, which we are preparing for introduction as soon as possible, I would like to stress three main elements. First, the liberalization of prices. Second, I would stress the privatization reform, and third, the liberalization of the economic management of enterprises, transforming them from enterprises entirely dependent on the state into enterprises that are free to compete in the market economy. No doubt, what I am saying describes in a few short words an entire policy full of problems and difficulties that we wish to overcome. The introduction of foreign capital is no doubt an important part of this reform. It is vital. I would say that among our mistakes was the country's economic and political isolation, which was a burden that cost our economy dearly. We are therefore determined to pursue a liberal policy toward foreign investment in Albania. This is the framework of the reforms that we wish to carry out, and I think that we will achieve economic stabilization in this way.

[BUJKU] It is expected that the EEC will offer aid to Albania in moving from a socialist-style economy to a free market economy involving initiative. Can you tell us what stage talks between Albania and the EEC have reached and what concrete aid has been given to Albania since the process of restructuring the economy began?

The EEC Must Stand by Albania More Closely

[Bufi] First, I would like to mention an important historic moment—Albania's admission to the CSCE. It was a political moment, but one that opened the road to the entire process of democratic transformation in Albania. Albania is now not merely geographically part of Europe, but also politically, and the most important thing is that it is being increasingly integrated into the European economy.

Albania's admission to the CSCE opened the way for its faster and fuller integration into Europe, and also, of course, for cooperation with individual European countries. With this aim, after Albania's admission to the CSCE, we maintained contacts with the Brussels-based EEC and the Group of 24. Mr. Pashko, the deputy premier and minister of the economy, made two visits for this purpose, while EEC Commissioner Andriessen visited Albania. These visits were used in order to compile a long list of foodstuffs, especially wheat, which Albania at present lacks. In September, 50,000 tonnes of wheat will be delivered, and a further 150,000 tonnes will arrive at the end of the year, and this is an important form of help. Nevertheless, it was felt that, in order to support the process of democratization and reform, the EEC should stand by Albania more closely, helping it in its present woes and difficulties, helping it more in terms of quantity, and faster. Swift intervention will enable us to overcome this difficult situation.

[BUJKU] You stressed that the EEC's presence should be more strongly felt. We hear that the aid promised to Albania at this time, according to the statements of the EEC about supporting Albania in this phase of the reform, have not arrived. What does the Albanian Government think of such hesitation on the part of Europe to act on the statements and promises made to Albania earlier and to offer this country greater help?

[Bufi] I am not saying that prejudices and certain ideas about Albania persist. I think that Europe is now persuaded that the democratic processes in Albania are irreversible. I do not think any question mark hangs over this in Europe. We have now proved this, not only by words. We have also undertaken a series of reforms in the political sphere. It is not a matter of finding alternative solutions in Albania. The alternative has now been chosen. The road toward a democratic and pluralist society with a market economy is open. It is now a question of moving faster along this road, so I do not think that there will be further hesitation of this kind on Europe's part. It is a matter of bureaucracy, and perhaps we must work more adroitly and be more insistent in our arguments about the need for aid. I think that the European governments and the organs of the EEC itself must also take a more active stand.

[BUJKU] While on the subject of the aid the EEC must offer, and, in particular, the aid that neighboring Italy can offer Albania, which was discussed at recent meetings with the Italian side, what resources will Albania

need to cope with the serious and special situation and how much will be necessary to reactivate existing industrial capacity under conditions dictated by the market economy?

[Bufi] I wish to stress that the Italian Government has stood by us at this difficult moment. Even before, it gave help, both the necessary political support to carry out the political reforms and with economic aid. It is now a matter of overcoming various bureaucratic delays in granting this aid, so that this help will be more effective, because I would say that it is a reality that any delay in this aid would, besides other things, lead to a second exodus like that of recent days.

In our talks with De Michelis, we were once again assured full support, and aid on a much broader scale. We agreed with the Italian Government on a grant of about 300 billion lire per month for food, for the next three months. Of course, this aid does not solve everything, but I think it is an extremely important form of help in ensuring food. Besides this, the Italian Government committed itself to ensuring similar aid from the EEC until the end of June 1992 (to a value of about 30 billion lire per month). This will provide considerable assistance in obtaining food. Second, the Italian Government's help lies in activating that part of our industry we wish to retain, to bring people back to work. For this reason, it granted a further 30 billion lire, which, on top of the 30 billion lire promised earlier but not yet delivered, means that we will have in our hands about 60 billion lire, a sum which is, I would say, sufficient to set the market economy in motion. Third, the Italian side confirmed the aid we had been talking about for some time, for preparing for the new school year in Albania by printing many books, notebooks, supplying other school equipment, and also in strengthening our forces of order.

[BUJKU] Can you tell us precisely what is the aim of this aid? Is it a matter of printing books whose contents must be changed according to new curricula, or was a shortage of books evident before?

[Bufi] It is a matter of both. There is a need to reprint some vital textbooks and to publish a number of new texts with completely revised contents in accordance with the political processes taking place in our country. I would wish to stress the important fact that this aid will no doubt considerably help the government in taking measures to carry out the reforms. The important thing is that there must be investment in Albania; work must start on construction sites, employing swarms of people. This will restore people's faith that a new society is being built in Albania. This is vital in overcoming the crisis of confidence among the people. We talked with the Italian Government, we have a broad program of investment offers, and, as we confirmed once again in our talks with De Michelis, we will sign an agreement in September starting Italian investment in Albania. This is for me the most important moment, and will be the greatest help that could be offered to Albania.

[BUJKU] Apart from the shortage of raw materials evident in Albanian industry, are there also organizational weaknesses or is there a lack of commitment to their jobs on the part of working people? What is your explanation?

[Bufi] There are no doubt weaknesses in this field.

[BUJKU] What are they?

[Bufi] First of all, the restructuring of the economy and society demands a restructuring of the state apparatus. This is not a mere phrase or an easy task. It requires maximum commitment and it is a long haul. The government is committed to organizing the ministries in order to find the right organizational structures that will adapt to the development of the reform. The ministries were conceived in a way that corresponded to a centralized economy, but we do not now want ministries that correspond to a market economy, because we still have not embarked on such an economy. We are in a period of transformation and the structures of the central ministries must assist this period of transformation. That is how we conceive these ministries and this is how we are trying to shape them, because they will no doubt play a very great role in this time of change in Albania. It is an easy and simple thing to conceive them in this way, but it is more difficult to renew the personnel and technology of the economy in order to adapt to this reform, because it is a fact that we all, whether economists or lawyers, were brought up in the kind of school we have had up till now, which trained officials to serve the earlier system. Thus the problem runs a little more deeply. There is a need for reform at a school level too, but no doubt matters will not be accomplished overnight, but will require some time.

[BUJKU] As you said, Albania is now on the road toward embracing a new kind of economic system, moving from a socialist to a market economy. At what intensity is this transition taking place? What work is being done at this stage?

Legislation—Basis for the Start of the Reform

[Bufi] One of our commitments is to prepare the legal framework. The Council of Ministers has recently prepared, if I am not mistaken, about 40 laws, and within a period of two months has passed them to the People's Assembly and obtained their approval. This was inevitably an enormous task and we cannot claim that this legislation is complete or ideal, because we do, after all, feel our lack of experience and training in preparing legislation of this kind. We have recently tried to obtain professional assistance from abroad in drafting laws. We are taking our first steps here. There is a need to secure this help in a more organized way, but we will not wait to obtain help and the necessary staff. We started work, using what experience existed in the other countries of the East. This has therefore been our first commitment—to prepare legislation. I do not say that we have completed this, but we have begun this work as a basis for the start of the reform. Second, we have been committed to

explaining to the people clearly and frankly what a market economy is, what the alternative ways of reaching it are, whether it is a hard or an easy process, whether there will be zigzags, whether the road will be asphalted or cobbled, etc. This is important if one bears in mind the existing mentality. We have been and still are a state in which everything was guaranteed by the state. This mentality cannot be changed immediately. Economic logic alone is not enough in preparing legislation for the reform; one also needs a social policy that will consider the country's real economic situation and the mentality among the population today. Of course, we are not thinking of adapting ourselves to this mentality. It is our task to change it, but this cannot be simple or immediate. This will be one of the most serious tasks we must solve.

Third, it is our commitment to prepare for the enforcement of the decisions we are making. The Council of Ministers has also issued a number of decrees. We think that they will significantly help the implementation of the reforms. We can now say that the reforms have begun with the implementation of the Land Law, and we will soon begin in the towns too. We will start with the creation of small retail units and small service and freight transportation units and then go on to reduce the size of industrial enterprises, detaching them from excessively centralized state management.

[BUJKU] Talking to people, we hear that the collapse of the cooperative economy in the countryside has led to major shortages in the villages. How can this phase of shortages of necessary foodstuffs be avoided, until the transition to the new economic model at which you aim is achieved?

Centralist Power Even Controlled Bread

[Bufi] It is true that there are distribution difficulties and difficulties in supplying stores with staple consumer goods both in the countryside and the towns. These are more pronounced in the countryside, because, following the restructuring or dissolution of the cooperatives in many villages the cooperative boards are not functioning. You must realize that in Albania the cooperative board was not only a structure of economic management, it was a form of state in itself. The board was not only responsible for keeping agricultural work running smoothly, but also for social issues and supplies to the countryside. The cooperative boards are no longer functioning. You must understand that this is the cause of all the upheavals, has led to the closure of the bakeries, and has left people without bread.

[BUJKU] How can these problems be solved?

[Bufi] The pluralist executive committees have made an urgent commitment to forming new pluralist councils in the village, and this process should now be more or less completed, so that the pluralist authorities will be able to take in hand everything that is necessary to manage matters in the villages. I would say that there have also been exaggerations. I do not want to prettify the situation. It is difficult and there have been such shortages, but it seems to me that the accusations in the press are slightly exaggerated. At least we now do not have a grain shortage and there is no reason why either the towns or the countryside should be short of bread. These shortages and upheavals have arisen because of the destruction of the old structures, while new ones have not yet been organized or have not been set to work. These are the daily tasks that we, and now especially the district executive committees, are tackling.

[BUJKU] Albania is well known as a country that has given proper attention to agricultural development, but even here things were not done as they should have been. Is this a result of the lack of interest of working people, or a shortage of equipment for agricultural work?

The Destruction of the Cooperatives—Before the Reforms Started

[Bufi] You have described the situation and its cause yourself. People in the countryside were confused by all the different alternatives on offer for restructuring agriculture, and were waiting what would be decided about the land and the cooperatives. No doubt, during this waiting period, certain forces also acted spontaneously and irresponsibly, and this led to the seizure of the cooperatives' property, the distribution of land before the relevant law was approved, and instability in the villages. In particular, people neglected the sowing and their field work. People took livestock, and of course thought only of their narrow personal interests. We support these interests, but everything must be done within the framework of rural reform. Many things were done too hastily, possibly because of delays in preparing legislation. However, it is a fact. Now, in order to improve the situation, we are working to complete everything in the countryside by the end of September, so that we will at least sow this autumn and have crops next spring.

[BUJKU] It is clear that Albania needs the investment of foreign capital in this phase of transformation. What is the Albanian Government now doing to attract as much foreign capital as possible, both with legal measures and in other ways that exert an influence here?

Foreign Capital—In September

[Bufi] In order to enable foreign firms to invest in Albania, the country needs political stability, so that people will invest without fear that their capital will be in danger. I think that, especially since the political settlement and the creation of the National Stability Government, Albania has changed its political image, and there has been much greater interest among foreign firms. There has been a wave of firms, a number of contracts have been signed, and now is the time to put them into effect.

[BUJKU] When do you expect to see the first fruits of these agreements with foreign firms?

[Bufi] There are beginnings already, but they are very small, and I think that if we preserve the present political stability and guarantee the implementation of the reform in Albania as we have planned and announced, and as we are determined, I think the first investments in Albania will arrive in September. This is important, and I would say decisive for the country's future. If we do not have this stability, firms will leave, and who knows when they will return. I think that this would have consequences.

[BUJKU] In which fields does Albania at present see the greatest opportunities for investment with the cooperation of foreign firms?

[Bufi] We have looked at this problem from two angles. First, we have thought about drawing on our natural resources, because these constitute the country's most important source of foreign currency. I am thinking first of all about oil and minerals. Of course, these require somewhat longer-term investment, but it is necessary to introduce foreign capital in this field in order to obtain up-to-date technology. We have always exploited our natural resources to a certain extent, but with little effect because of outdated extraction and processing technology. Thus, to improve effectiveness and to increase the level of processing and exploitation, we must attract foreign capital for up-to-date technology.

Second, we wish to introduce foreign capital into sectors which bring faster foreign-currency profits. This is especially a matter of tourism, agriculture, and the food industry. This will also lead to a fast improvement in food supplies for the market.

Transformation Demands Still More Work

[BUJKU] What can the government do at this stage to restore working people's confidence, so that they will really go back to work?

[Bufi] We must tell the people clearly that this entire transformation cannot be achieved within a month or within a short time. We have never promised the people that the government will be able to offer them a life of plenty within its term of office. This would be bad propaganda. In the future too, we must say even more clearly that this period of transition will demand even more work. What is necessary is the conviction that this work will not be in vain. One may ask why this conviction is necessary. In the final analysis, world experience shows what the market economy brings. It is a matter of conviction, and there is no need to doubt that it has led to the creation of a more prosperous society. It is clear what the market economy has brought, and what its advantages are compared to a centralized economy. We want to create a market economy. Thus, now it is clear where we are heading, we need to create the confidence. How can the market economy be created? What will it look like? How can it be accelerated? Only by starting to invest as soon as possible. I call this the most important measure the government must undertake.

The Exodus Is the Country's Hemorrhage

[BUJKU] In your comments on the recent exodus, you mentioned the serious social conditions prevailing in Albania among the causes encouraging it. Could you tell us whether there was any other factor encouraging this exodus?

[Bufi] I can tell you sincerely that this exodus deeply distressed us, because it was truly tragic for this country. It was a hemorrhage for the country, in which a large section of its young people left the country in despair. We are also disturbed because any exodus at this time becomes a destabilizing factor. It took place a few days after the government had issued a statement inviting all political forces and the entire people to work more than ever for the political stability we all need, and to set to work to carry out the measures necessary to stabilize this country. We thought that the parties and our entire public welcomed this government statement. However, it was precisely at this moment that there appeared forces that do not want stability in Albania, and which can no doubt only be anti-Albanian forces, setting in motion such scenarios as that of the exodus.

[BUJKU] Are you thinking of forces operating at home, forces operating from abroad with influence at home, or some combination of the two?

[Bufi] As always, these forces cannot operate only at home or only from abroad. I can say that they operate together.

[BUJKU] Does the Albanian Government have any concrete evidence for making such an observation?

[Bufi] Yes, it does. We possess data showing that certain elements are continuing to spread propaganda, especially among young people, to encourage an exodus. When one considers who these people are and what lies behind their aims, one can reach the precise conclusion that there were definite anti-Albanian forces at home and abroad that encouraged this thing.

[BUJKU] Forces that no doubt do not want a stable and democratic Albania?

[Bufi] Forces that do not want stabilization, and in the last analysis, forces that do not want an Albania that is not preoccupied with major worries. Albania has two major worries—the internal stabilization of Albania and the solution of the Kosovo issue. These are the nation's two great worries. There are no doubt forces that do not want us working to solve these two great worries of the nation, but want us working to solve the problems caused by the exodus, so that these forces will be able to operate freely.

Solving the Kosovo Issue in Accordance With the Nation's Interests

[BUJKU] Where the Kosovo issue is concerned, we would be interested to know how the Albanian Government envisages the solution of this problem that is so highly topical and important, not only for Albania and the Balkans, but beyond.

[Bufi] The Albanian Government has explained its stand on this issue several times recently. I am not saying this merely to sensitize the public, because it is one of the most important issues, and I would say a historic one.

This is a moment not merely to seek a solution to the Kosovo issue, for I would say that we will find one. It is a matter of the solution that will be reached being a solution that accords with our national interests, and not a solution like others reached several times in history, and unjustly imposed as a settlement against the will of the Albanian people. Specifically, we first of all now think that Yugoslavia's crisis has led the country to such a point that, it seems, the Yugoslav state will change its state structure. Whether it will be a federation or a confederation or whether it will disintegrate is a matter for the people themselves, who have the right to self-determination. When I say that the Yugoslav people have the right to self-determination, I mean that it is vital for the Kosovars themselves also to be at the discussion table, for the Albanians who live in their own territories in Yugoslavia to be present, because they are not a minority. It is superfluous to say that they are the third-largest population in Yugoslavia. It is therefore vital for the Albanians, too, to be at the discussion table. It is, then, doubtless also the right of the Kosovars themselves to decide the future of Kosovo. What means will be used? What road will be followed? It will be the road we have emphasized several times. It will be the road of the spirit of Helsinki and of all the commitments and efforts engaged in within the framework of European integration. We as a government are not demanding border changes, nor are we seeking the use of force, as has been used recently against Slovenia and especially Croatia. It would not be any kind of solution to aim this violence against the Kosovars, although it appears that there are preparations to make this violence a reality. This is no longer a supposition or a matter serving as an argument to make a political point.

[BUJKU] Nevertheless, violence is being used against the Albanians who live in Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia. Do you think that the Albanian Government has used all its opportunities to properly set in motion the mechanisms to internationalize this crisis, to internationalize it at a world level, and to make Europe and other states aware that Albania, as a member of the European community, will not agree to the use of violence or to an imposed solution of the question of the Albanians and the position of Kosovo?

[Bufi] You are aware of the efforts made by the Government and the president of the republic himself. I do not want to repeat the statements issued by the government and the parliament and the letters about the Kosovo issue that the president has sent to various heads of state. It is a fact that the international community has still not responded properly to the question of Kosovo, but it seems to us, seeing the problems in this way, that the Albanian Government and the Albanian state must make much greater efforts. We will try to pursue this issue much more effectively and forcefully. I very much agree with your view, the view that prevails both in Albania and in Kosovo, that we must without fail have the support of the international community in solving the issue of Kosovo.

[BUJKU] The European and world communities, despite approving a range of resolutions on Kosovo, still talk about the Albanians as a minority. Could the Albanian Government and the president of Albania himself do something more to exert pressure on the European and world community to ensure that the Albanians are in this context treated as the nation that they are?

[Bufi] I do not think it is simply a matter of pressure, but of being more active to ensure that the European community does not in any way treat Kosovo as a minority problem. The time of political prejudices is over. At a time when walls are falling, prejudices must also disappear. It seems to me that there are still prejudices about the Kosovo issue in many countries, in many European states. It is these prejudices that wheel in the argument about being a minority. Reality must be looked in the eye. You cannot call a 3-million-strong people, like the Albanians in Yugoslavia, a minority. This is well known, and, put in this way, we are no doubt dealing with a prejudice. I say this because it is time to remove these prejudices and for Europe to be realistic in the solution it will bring to the Kosovo issue.

We Support the Rights of the Republic of Kosovo

[BUJKU] One can see a greater commitment in the Albanian press these days to exerting pressure on the Albanian Government to recognize the Republic of Kosovo as soon as possible. The Republican Party has organized a petition to be signed by citizens of Albania, urging the Albanian Government to recognize the Republic of Kosovo. How would you comment on this?

[Bufi] In the declarations we have issued, we too have supported the people of Kosovo's right to self-determination. The question of subsequently recognizing the Republic of Kosovo has to do with a range of European community laws. We are now members of this community, members of the CSCE, and we will be at pains to conduct all our official activities in accordance with the community's legislation. We fully support Kosovo's right to be a republic, while, as for the Kosovo Government and recognizing it, we will no doubt look at the issue in accordance with this right, but will also take this step in accordance with all recent developments and the situation in Europe, Yugoslavia, and Kosovo.

[BUJKU] Do you consider that the Albanian Government and state must work much harder than hitherto in

its propaganda to make the issue of Kosovo and the Albanians in Yugoslavia familiar to the European and world community, because, as we know, the other side, i.e. the Yugoslav and Serbian side, is interested in suppressing the Albanian question, and has a much stronger presence in Europe with its propaganda against the Albanian cause. At least, Yugoslav diplomacy has proved this many times.

[Bufi] No doubt we must do this. It is our duty and we are thinking of taking various concrete steps in this direction.

[BUJKU] What will these be?

[Bufi] They will of course involve intensifying our state's propaganda to make the world community more aware of the Kosovo issue and speaking out more strongly in the European community and in international organizations, as far as (and · ·ly not) the United Nations.

[BUJKU] Of course, Albania has greater opportunities to take such steps after its admission to the CSCE.

[Bufi] That is true. We will use these bodies for the Kosovo issue.

[BUJKU] In this phase of transformation, Albania is also faced with the nonfunctioning of the laws. Why do you think the state is not functioning in an adequate way?

[Bufi] You are right in what you say. We now see in Albania what happened in the other countries of the East. The former state structures have ceased to exist and to operate, while new structures have still not all been created. Bear in mind that this is also accompanied by an economic crisis that entails social difficulties. Thus, with the nonfunctioning of the state structures and with this economic and social crisis, anarchy is born.

People Must Return to Work

[BUJKU] What is the government doing, and what can it do, to stop the situation developing in this way?

[Bufi] One urgent and necessary measure is for us to make efforts to bring people back to work in those sectors where work is possible. A second step is the start of the reform, so that people will no longer be passive but will actively pursue their economic interests. I would say that the third step is the arrival of the first foreign investments, and, alongside these economic measures, a strengthening of public order. It is vital to overcome the crisis which has also gripped the forces of order. We are trying to restructure these forces in order to adapt them to the system they will serve and the new phenomena that are accompanying this transitional period, and to give them better material and legal support, so that the forces of order will be able to cope with the situation that has arisen. This is a necessity. These economic measures and stronger public order will, I think, alleviate social tension and lead to a stabilization of the country's economic and social life. I want to stress something else: The political forces will also have a major role here. If the political forces enter into an electoral struggle, this will further complicate the situation.

[BUJKU] Nevertheless, one gains the impression that a political struggle has recently broken out among the political parties in Albania. What does the government think of their contribution?

[Bufi] This was assessed in the statement issued by the Government, which drew attention to the fact that inflaming an electoral struggle is not in the nation's interest. It even seems to me that it is not in the interests of the political parties. I think it is highly premature to hold elections in a country twice within six or seven months. No doubt the situation in Albania has evolved, and processes are developing. I think that holding elections now would interrupt this process, which must develop further. One could then say that, on the basis of these second elections, it would become necessary to hold third elections after a further six months, which would have catastrophic consequences. The parties may make their own calculations, but I think that it is in nobody's interest, either politically or economically, to hold such elections. A real political and economic analysis would show that this would have as many negative consequences as positive ones, for whatever party. Imagine what would happen if we started such an electoral campaign at what I would call this very serious time when the social crisis is still with us. Imagine a much more savage electoral campaign than that in March. Does the country need this? I think that it does not. It would delay the reform. I think that the great work we have done with foreign firms would not only be interrupted, but would be reversed, and I do not know how long it would take to revive the process. I therefore think that the decision in the political settlement to hold the elections in May or June, provides us with enough time to judge the situation more calmly and to make the right political decisions.

[BUJKU] Finally, thank you for the time you have given to Albanian readers, talking about Albania today, and giving Kosovo fresh information about Albania in this time of a media blackout.

[Bufi] Thank you. I will always be available for such a purpose, and not only prepared, but interested in organizing such an exchange of information a little better.

Groups Seize, Loot 27 Freight Trains

AU2808193691 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 24 Aug 91 p 1

[Kristo Mertiri article: "Freight Trains at the Mercy of Fate"]

[Text] The freight train left the station at Fier. It was the afternoon of 2 August. It departed, but where did it arrive? In the evening, an unexpected "attack" took place on the outskirts of the town of Rrogozhine. Groups of people seized 27 freight cars laden with nitrate and

urea, which were on their way to the north. A very large quantity was stolen. Let us calculate: So far, 499 sacks are missing from two cars alone. The exact figures for the *25 other cars will emerge after the investigation. Two* cars full of salt were also seized. (When I heard this, I remembered a friend in Tirana, who wandered from store to store in search of salt and finally found a private trader quietly selling it on the sidewalk.)

It seems that there are more of these shocking incidents every day. They further add to the great economic and social woes we are so painfully living through. Insecurity is eroding confidence in the spirit of democracy. This insecurity and state of spiritual shock is in fact aggravated by the inexcusable apathy and inertia of the organs of the state, the forces of order, etc. As if nothing had happened previously, there were "attacks" in Rrogozhine again three days later, on 5 August. Seven freight cars were seized. Who are these "brave" bandits who lay their hands on the sweat and toil of the work force? Silence. Again silence. Nobody lifts a finger. So, freight trains travel and are left to the mercy of fate.

"Attacks" take place in the towns, but their victims are in the countryside, because it is the peasants who are waiting for nitrate, urea, and salt. It is they, in their present state of exhaustion, who suffer the consequences. These thefts also leave room for intolerable private speculation with goods belonging to the state. Wheeler-dealers take courage and draw strength, openly trifling with the feelings and grievances of our peasants. Who will put a stop to such behavior, and when? These questions are often left unanswered in our daily life. We have laws but the laws are not enforced. The people's will remains a dead letter. Also, the labor of the workers at the Fier Nitrate and Ammonia Factory goes for nothing. Do you know how much gasoline this factory uses in 24 hours of production? It uses 6.3 tonnes! The thefts and malpractices on the railroad are incalculable. The principal "victims" are the peasants, who are waiting to feed the land and their crops. They are weary and have suffered enough! It is more than disgusting that "attacks" are organized, and go to the point of stealing salt. It adds to the insecurity. May we hear no more such reports!

Tirana Democratic Front Elects Pluralist Council

AU2808124691 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 18 Aug 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Pluralist Managing Council Elected"]

[Text] The Council and Presidium of the Tirana District Democratic Front have resigned. Out of concern, many activists and elected officials asked questions and made suggestions about ways of reforming this organization. Speakers stressed the need for an all- people's organization, above party, religious, and regional differences, that will achieve national unity.

In conclusion, the Front's Managing Council was elected in order to prepare for a district conference. The council has the following composition: two representatives from *the Socialist Party, two from the Social Democratic* Party, two from the Party of National Unity, two from the Agrarian Party, one from the Ecology Party, one from the Association of the Islamic Community, one from the Bektashi Community, one from the Orthodox Church, one from the Catholic Church, and eight non-party colleagues, of whom four have academic degrees as professors, doctors, or candidates of sciences. Two places have also been reserved on this council for the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, in case they agree to take part in and help this pluralist forum.

Economic Cooperation With Macedonia Discussed

AU2908144491 Tirana ATA in English 0943 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 29 (ATA)—From August 26-27, 1991 negotiations were held in Ohrid between the government delegations of the Republic of Albania led by the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers Zydi Pepa and the Republic of Macedonia, led by the vice chairman of the government, Jovan Andonov.

In these talks, opinions were exchanged and concrete steps were made for the extension of economic, technical and scientific cooperation between the two countries in the fields of mineral extracting and processing industry, the chemical one, the food industry, agriculture, transport, tourism, construction, telecommunications, border trade, etc.

The protocol signed on this occasion envisages among others further work for the possible realisation of the export of the Albanian iron-nickel ore for the needs of the metallurgical combine "Feni" at Kavadarc of Macedonia, the cooperation for the future connection with the gas pipeline network of Macedonia with that of Albania, the study on the possible joint exploitation of the decorative stones found in Albania, the cooperation in the production of pesticides, agricultural production, plants protection, participation of the Macedonian party for the construction in Albania of small and medium size enterprises of food industry, etc.

In the field of transport, the protocol envisages the soon inauguration of the Tirana-Skopje-Bitola and Pogradec-Ohrid bus services, the ship service Ohrid-Pogradec, the Tirana-Skopje airline, the inauguration of the transit passing for the Macedonian goods through the Albanian territory, etc., whereas in the field of telecommunications, the establishment of Tirana-Skopje and Pogradec-Ohrid telephone lines. They agreed also for the connection of the two countries by highways and railway lines.

In the field of tourism, both parties agreed to exchange touristic groups and the joint introduction in the third markets, the joint participation in the reconstruction of the existing touristic objects and the construction of the new objects in Albania, etc.

Both delegations agreed to opening soon of the new border points in Bllate, Tushemishte-Sveti Naum, Gorice-Stenje, Strebleve and Plestan, and the liberalisation of the granting of visas.

The Macedonian party handed over the draft program of cooperation in the field of science and technique, technical cooperation with various firms, postgraduate studies, training in professional profiles, etc., for which after studied by the Albanian party, respective agreements will be signed.

Over its stay in Ohrid, the Albanian delegation was received by the chairman of the government of the Republic of Macedonia, Dr.. Nikola Kljusev, with whom it had a friendly talk.

Zhelev Pledges No Interference in Macedonia

LD2908195291 Hamburg DPA in German 1912 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Munich (DPA)—In the view of Bulgarian State President Zhelyu Zhelev, it will perhaps take a year until states have emerged from the republics in the multi-ethnic state of Yugoslavia. However, as long as the issues connected with this have not been solved, "the guns will not be silent," Zhelev said in an interview with the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG (Friday edition) ahead of his state visit to Berlin on Monday. Bulgaria will not recognize Croatia and Slovenia in the first instance in order not to be suspected of pursuing its own interests as a neighboring country.

Zhelev reaffirmed that Bulgaria will not interfere in the conflict surrounding the Republic of Macedonia, which will vote on independence in a referendum on 8 September. Zhelev considers developments in his country similar to those in Moscow as "practically impossible." After the numerous changes in the legal area and the political structures, the Bulgarian communist party has long been seperated from the state, Zhelev stressed.

UK Prime Minister Assures Zhelev of Support

AU2908114591 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 29 Aug 91

["Text" of message from UK Prime Minister John Major to President Zhelyu Zhelev on failed Soviet coup; read by a presidential adviser over telephone from the Presidency in Sofia—live]

[Text] This morning the British Ambassador visited the Presidency to deliver a message to President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev from UK Prime Minister John Major. The text of the message is as follows:

Esteemed Mr. President:

The failure of the attempted coup in the Soviet Union filled all of us with thankfulness and satisfaction: thankfulness most of all for the personal stand adopted by President Yeltsin and the stand taken by many ordinary citizens, and satisfaction with the fact that President Gorbachev was able to reassume his duties as president of the Soviet Union.

At the same time, I would like to use this opportunity to assure you of the great sympathy that we felt toward you and the Bulgarian people during the past week. We fully understood your anxiety over the unfolding of events in the Soviet Union. My government is even more firmly resolved to work unrelentingly together with you and the Bulgarian Government to create a democratic and prosperous Europe, which we all want to see. We also wish to use every opportunity to further develop our contacts and comprehensive relations aspects.

That was the text of the message from Mr. Major. President Zhelev made a reply. He expressed his gratitude for this support from the British side for Bulgaria's stand and for the democratic process in our country. After the support categorically expressed by the Japanese prime minister, Great Britain is the second great Western [as heard] country that has expressed support for us.

The Presidency is continuously receiving telegrams addressed to Dr. Zhelev from political figures, organizations, and private persons from abroad, congratulating him on his firm support for constitutional order in the Soviet Union.

Andrey Lukanov Discusses BSP Problems on Radio

AU2908183691 Sofia BTA in English 1802 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 29 (BTA)—Andrey Lukanov has left the Presidium of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] because of the restoration of "harmful ways" in its work. In a radio programme Mr. Lukanov who was also deputy chairman of the BSP accused the hard-liners in the leadership of being too self-reliant.

Mr. Lukanov remains a member of the Supreme Council of the BSP. In his opinion, the party is not threatened by a split. It would be a bad move, he said. He believes the Socialist Party ought to remain united in its reform policy.

Today's "DUMA" carries a letter, explaining the motives for Mr. Lukanov's decision to leave the Presidium. It seems that he is not deaf to the proposals of the Alternative Socialist Organization which opposed the attitude of the party's leadership to the events in the USSR and demanded an extraordinary plenum on cadre problems. Mr. Lukanov, however, believes that a plenum cannot solve the problems now.

In his opinion, the cadre problems should be solved at a congress. The party leadership insists that the congress be held after the elections in October.

It also became clear that Mr. Lukanov is not giving up his participation in political life and he intends to take part in the BSP's election campaign.

At the same time the BTA has received a declaration that the Europe Social Democratic Platform is leaving the parliamentary group of the BSP. The reason is "the inadequate reaction to last week's events in the USSR of the chairman of the Supreme Council of the BSP and his adherents."

Unfortunately, the leadership of the parliamentary BSP failed to take an official stand on the events in the USSR and to distance itself from the ambiguous wait-and-see position of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the BSP, says the declaration. The warning of the Europe Social Democratic Platform was confirmed: Through the

fault of the leadership the democratic renovation of the party has practically ceased, the BSP has not reconsidered its attitude to the CPSU, but it should, if it cares about its future, the declaration points out.

Interior Minister Denies Handing Over Agent List

AU2808200991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Aug 91 pp 1,2

[Plamen Enchev report]

[Text] Interior Minister Danov categorically denied that he had handed over any list of employees of the former State Security who had infiltrated into the leadership of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation to Prime Minister Dimitur Popov or any of his deputies.

The news about this was disseminated by BTA on 22 August, and was quoted by the television and daily newspapers on 23 August. Danov called this announcement a lie, an untruth, and a complete fabrication, and promised that within seven days he would bring a court action for slander and defamation of character against the author of the announcement, demanding damages of 20,000 leva. On 23 August the minister of internal affairs gave a special news conference in his office in the Interior Ministry. Minister Danov stated that no one has ever been given such a list, nor has it been discussed or seen. If any such agents of the former State Security did exist, then this is a state secret that I cannot divulge, because the laws prohibit this, the minister said. He added that the Ministry of Internal Affairs is not interested in the activities of anybody in relation to his political or trade union work, provided that they do not break the law.

In the minister's view, if the Podkrepa Labor Confederation has broken the law in some cases, and this is possible, bearing in mind their strike actions, then the criminal investigators and all the Interior Ministry organs will intervene. However, he did not deny that someone had asked him for such a list at a closed session of the government.

Give us the list, so that we can sort out our own problems, Dr. Trenchev said on 23 August, on learning of the list's existence from the press. Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev declared at a meeting of the Tripartite Commission on Coordinating Interests that there had never been any question of such a thing, and that Minister Danov had not provided the prime minister with a list of agents. Dimitur Ludzhev stated that the government had given no official information on this matter to BTA, and if any minister had done so, then he would be asked to account for his action.

Ministry Protests to Romania Over Pollution

AU2908111091 Sofia BTA in English 0938 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 29 (BTA)—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed concern over the air pollution of the City of Ruse on August 23 and 26. In a verbal note presented to the charge d'affaires of the Romanian Embassy the ministry insists on providing the Bulgarian side with information on the causes of the pollution which should also be made known to the public. It proposes to speed up the preparation of the regional project for solving the critical environmental problems for which readiness was expressed before the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] programme.

'Eyewitness' Say Tomov Visited Soviet Embassy 21 Aug

AU3008093091 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 26 Aug 91 p 1

[DEMOKRATSIYA report: "Tomov Visited Shaparov on 21 August"]

[Text] The Editor's Office received a report from eyewitnesses that early in the afternoon, between 1400-1600 [1100-1300 GMT], on 21 August, Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Aleksandur Tomov visited the USSR Embassy. His car shot out of the embassy grounds, crossed the tram lines, and headed for the center of town.

The Editor's Office was contacted after Mr. Tomov's made a statement on Bulgarian Radio's "Nedelya [Sunday] 150" program, saying that he had not met with representatives of the embassy recently. It would be interesting to discover what was discussed on this decisive day when the Grand National Assembly's draft declaration on events in the USSR was submitted to parliament. We recall that events were faster than the process of adopting the declaration.

Foreign Ministry Denial on Shaparov's Appointment

AU2908200091 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 29 (BTA)—Today the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has published a denial in connection with a report of "Deutsche Welle" from Cologne about Soviet Ambassador Viktor Sharapov, which was published in the "Analyses" column of today's "DEMOKRATSIYA." The denial reads: "The authorization to make statements about the actions of foreign ambassadors to Bulgaria is strictly regulated. The ministry's department for the USSR has made no statements concerning the term of the Soviet Ambassador's appointment here." The denial also says that "according to a responsible official from the department for the USSR at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the recall of the KGB general and ambassador to Bulgaria Viktor Sharapov is a matter of days."

Deputy Prime Minister Tomov Leaves for France

AU2908195891 Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 29 (BTA)—Today Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov left for France. Immediately upon his arrival he met with the Mayor of Paris Mr. Jacques Chirac. During the meeting Mr. Tomov pointed out that the integration of the East European countries with Europe should be effected as soon as possible, the Bulgarian Television reported in the evening news.

Mr. Tomov told Mr. Chirac about the election situation in Bulgaria and explained the need for direct investment of French capital in Bulgaria.

Government Adopts Export Encouragement Measures

AU2908184591 Sofia BTA in English 1507 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 29 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers today adopted an export encouragement program.

The analysis of the first six months statistics shows that domestic consumption shrinks faster than external demand. The measures taken so far: liberalization of the foreign-exchange and trade regulations-stimulated exports and helped its partial restructuring in a geographic and commodity aspect. Still, in the first six months of 1991 exports dropped more than 50 percent from the exceedingly low base of the like period last year. Exports to Eastern Europe plummeted more than 70 percent, exports have become less varied and the terms of trade have deteriorated.

The comprehensive export encouragement program adopted today envisages monetary, financial and bank measures like purchase credit facilities, export insurance, government coverage of export risks, a system of tax and customs concessions. Mr. Atanas Paparizov, minister of foreign economic relations, singled out two measures as crucial: the system of exporter refinancing and crediting and the system of export credit insurance and guarantees. Special measures are envisaged to promote export to Eastern Europe. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations will establish a foreign trade policy fund, and the National Bank will start an export production incentive facility in January 1992.

The government today considered the opportunity of the state helping Bulgarian companies start commercial agencies abroad. The agencies will be maintained on the proceeds of transactions because of deep cutbacks in the office staff of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. Measures were also contemplated to tighten export controls so as to deter unfair competition. Now this is a responsibility of the customs service and they are too understaffed to exercise effective control. The cabinet assigned the ministry to draft a foreign trade bill.

World Bank Grants $250 Million Loan

AU2808165691 Sofia BTA in English 1545 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 28 (BTA)—The World Bank granted Bulgaria a 250 million dollar loan under an agreement reached last night between the Bulgarian Government and this international financial institution. The loan is earmarked for financing the structural changes in the Bulgarian economy.

Commerce Chamber To Form Joint Bank With Russia

AU2908111191 Sofia BTA in English 0838 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 29 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Chamber of Industry and Commerce and the Russian Incombank will set up a Bulgarian-Russian joint-stock bank Bulincom. Its authorized capital will be between 50 and 100 million leva.

After the Bulgarian-American Bank for Investments and Development this will be the second joint bank in Bulgaria.

Bulincom will assist the investment of Russian capital in Bulgaria and of Bulgarian capital in Russia. It is expected to receive a licence from the National Bank of Bulgaria within a month.

Nikola Petkov Agrarians Join SDS Coalition

AU2808171691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union will participate in the elections in the Union of Democratic Forces National Movement coalition and lays claim to 30 to 35 votes, Milan Drenchev said at the the regular union news conference. A declaration also was read, analyzing the problems involving power supplies.

National Interests Committee Threatened by Split

AU2908185991 Sofia BTA in English 1425 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 29 (BTA)—There are signs of a split in the Nationwide Committee for Defence of National Interests which according to today's declaration of its section in Sofia has gained the reputation of an "vanguard national patriotic organization,.

The split was precipitated by the Fatherland Party of Labour, which represents the political face of the committee, when it entered into a coalition with the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. A number of local sections of the committee and of the Fatherland Party of Labour

oppose the coalition. Today Mr. Dimitur Arnaudov has called an extraordinary meeting of the committee. The legitimacy of this meeting was called in question at a press conference today. Mr. Arnaudov was charged with factionalism. According to the committee's leaders, the puppeteers in this play are outside Bulgaria.

"Everyone is free to choose his partners," Deputy Chairman Mincho Minchev answered to a question why he was entering a coalition with the former Communists who are responsible for the so-called "regeneration process," i.e. the forcible change of ethnic Turks' names. He also said that the BSP is trying hard to change.

The Nationwide Committee for Defence of National Interests believes that the message of Turkey's Prime Minister Yilmaz to Bulgaria's Prime Minister Dimitur Popov in connection with the registration of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms is an interference in Bulgaria's internal affairs. Today's declaration of the committee appeals to parliament, the president and the government to issue a joint declaration in connection with the "scandalous" letter of Mr. Yilmaz. Otherwise the committee would consider their position as "conciliatory, anti-national and obviously in contrast with the constitution."

Another nationalistic party also describes the letter of Turkey's prime minister as interference in Bulgaria's internal affairs: The Bulgarian National Democratic Party [BNDP].

According to the BNDP, by entering a coalition with the BSP the Fatherland Party of Labour has committed a political suicide. It will pay for the chance to gain seats in parliament by losing many of its members. The BNDP which would hardly be able to overcome the four-per-cent barrier in the coming elections is still negotiating a possible coalition with the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union]-United, the Constitutional Forum and the SDS [Union of Democratic forces]-Radicals. This coalition will probably gain shape about the end of this week. For the time being the only officially announced coalition is the BSP's coalition with five minor non-parliamentary parties.

Radical Party Joins European Nationalist Union

AU2908175591 Sofia BTA in English 1626 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 29 (BTA)—The chairman of the Bulgarian National Radical Party (BNRP) Mr. Ivan Georgiev and the coordinator for the European Nationalist Union Mr. Willem Adriaanus Koetsir, secretary of the Centre Democrats Party in the Netherlands, have signed an agreement for the BNRP's admission to the union. Other members of the union are the Italian Social Movement, the Republican Party in Germany, Centre Democrats in the Netherlands and Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front in France.

The chairman of the BNRP said that thus the party has gained high international prestige and expects material and moral assistance of the other member-parties.

DEMOKRATSIYA On BSP Popularity Decreases

AU2808122491 Sofia BTA in English 1136 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 28 (BTA)—A poll conducted in Sofia on August 25 showed that 54.4 percent of the respondents would vote for the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and only 18.7 percent—for the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party].

The results of this relatively representative poll (400 respondents) are published in today's "DEMOKRATSIYA."

9.2 percent of the respondents would vote for the BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] /United/, 4.8 percent—for SDS-Liberals and 3.6 percent— for the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP). 5.9 percent of the respondents would not vote at all.

BZNS-United Declaration on Farm Land Restoration

AU3008100091 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 24 Aug 91 p 1

["Declaration of the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-United"; place and date not given]

[Text] The Permanent Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS]-United is very concerned with the decision of the National Land Council to restore only 70 percent of the farm land to the owners during the first year. We think that this decision is unconstitutional and seriously contradicts the basic principle of the Law on Owning and Utilizing the Farm Land, namely, restoring the ownership over the farm land.

The decision will have exceptionally unfavorable consequences for the entire agrarian reform in the country. It delays and postpones the process of restoring the ownership over the farm land, and evokes mistrust in the agrarians, the owners of farm land, and those who have inherited such land. The decision deprives the agrarian producers of the possibility to organize their activity in a lasting manner.

The decision of the National Land Council will also create serious difficulties in applying the Law on the Cooperatives. It creates conditions of favoring and strengthening the old structures.

The BZNS-United adheres to strictly observing all laws in the country.

Led by this principle the BZNS-United Permanent Board expresses its dissatisfaction with the activity of the National Land Council and expresses the categorical opinion that the implementation of the decision must be stopped, and the activity of the National Land Council should be reexamined.

Government Experts Inspect Kozloduy Nuclear Reactor

AU3008082691 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 24 Aug 91 p 4

[Diana Vancheva report: Radiation Safety Certificate Will Be Signed 'With Reservations'"]

[Text] From 13 to 18 August, a state commission appointed by the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy under the Council of Ministers carried out an inspection at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant in connection with the acceptance of the No. 4 Generating Unit, following its planned maintenance. Prof. Zdravko Paskalev is the representative for radiation safety on the commission and also represents the interests of the Health Ministry. The commission's report is still being prepared, and will be ready within a few days. The state commission's recommendations are binding and must be fulfilled. The two groups of experts have not yet signed the report, but some details are already available:

—The radiation safety specialists have made remarks concerning the safety systems, but in their view the omissions are not major and the No. 4 unit can be started up.

—However, the radiation safety specialists will grant their consent with a reservation, because...the existence of radiation has been established at work stations in the reactor's special zone and other premises, which creates an increased radiation risk for the workers. The workers are exposed to the combined effects of ionizing radiation and other nonionizing factors in their work environment. The removal of radioactivity from contaminated work clothes and their laundering have become very big problems. Only two of the six laundry facilities are functioning; all the work overalls, socks, and gloves are handled the same way, irrespective of their contamination; and the driers and fans do not function. The two laundries that are working at the moment have fluid leaks, and their floors are covered with radioactively contaminated water. The staff working in the so-called special laundry has received high doses of ionizing radiation during the first six months of 1991. The state of the laundry for the Nos. 1 to 4 reactors requires its closure.

The reserved opinion given by one of the two groups of experts means that if the same irregularities concerning radiation safety are established when the next unit—the No. 3 unit, now under repair—is accepted, then the awaited consent will not be given for either of the two units to be started up, because they share one and the same control room.

At the moment the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy is in a dilemma (but has not yet adopted its final decision) on whether or not the entire commission should issue a reserved opinion on starting up the reactor. It has become clear that the protocol contemplates the drafting of an order to close down the laundry (although such an order has not yet been prepared). What can we expect? According to Professor Paskalev, unless the money expected from the EC and other states for supplies of apparatus, equipment, and systems for radiation safety control materializes, the nuclear power plant will not be able to cope. For years on end, from the commissioning of the plant until 1990, the observations have accumulated in the file documents. The Kozloduy specialists were aware of the situation and issued warnings, but the plant's former top management and "factors" from the Ministry of Energy, the government, and the State Council blocked the passage of the necessary measures. The latter are chiefly to blame for the present situation. A commission has already been appointed to investigate the reasons causing the present state of our energy industry. When this commission issues its report, the prosecutor's office will have plenty of work to do, but the commission is working sluggishly. However, the key posts connected with finding radical solutions for the problems of nuclear power plant safety and with bringing the culprits to book have already been taken away from the former communist figures, who continue their policy of dragging things out, denying their guilt, and shifting the blame.

Time has passed, the damage has accumulated. Some experts believe that it is difficult or impossible to bring the Nos. 1 to 4 reactors up to international requirements, bearing in mind the design faults and the general condition that the nuclear plant has reached. In terms of international standards, we may only describe the plant as "acceptable," for the time being at least!

Government Statement on Baltics Recognition Issued

LD2908172791 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Government statement on recognition of the Estonian, Lithuanian, and Latvian Republics, read by CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier in government session in Prague on 29 August—recorded]

[Text] The Government of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic solemnly recognizes that the nations of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia have achieved the renewal of their independence and that Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia have again taken their place among the sovereign states. Thus, the injustice committed by their annexation has been put right.

The government recognizes the governments of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia, which were democratically elected, as the de jure governments of these states. It is prepared to develop friendly relations and all-around cooperation with these states, based on mutual respect, bilateral advantage, and norms of international law.

It expresses its willingness to renew mutual diplomatic relations with these states. It will support in all ways the efforts of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia to join the international community, including the acceptance of these states as members of the international organizations.

Dienstbier Comments on Future Ties With USSR

LD2908223791 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2000 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Statement by Jiri Dienstbier, first deputy federal prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, on decision to recognize independence of three Baltic republics]

[Text] In connection with today's decision by the Federal Government to recognize the independence of the three Baltic republics, we have asked Jiri Dienstbier, first deputy federal prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, to answer several questions. First, what will the recognition of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia mean for us in practical terms.

[Begin recording] [Dienstbier] This is, on the one hand, rectification of the wrong that occured as a result of the annexation of the Baltic republics. That was at the beginning of World War II. Now—I speak generally—only now can we begin to realize the aims, the war aims of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, because the cold war had prevented this for more than 40 years. Specifically, this means many things. On one hand, we shall be able to finally implement the agreements we have already concluded, the trade agreements, because up to now the central Soviet bureaucracy mostly prevented this. We shall be able, at the same time, to follow up on those very good traditions of relations from the period before World War II. In addition, I believe that this will also improve our overall opportunities, economic opportunities, because not only the Baltic republics, but also some other republics, will surely be much more flexible in finalizing the conclusion of various agreements, and these will be more easily implemented and controllable.

[Unidentified correspondent] The Soviet Union's political face is changing rapidly following the collapse of the coup last week. Yesterday's appointment of Boris Pankin as the Soviet minister of foreign affairs is surely a positive event for us. How do you expect all of these changes to be reflected in our mutual relations, and how this will be manifested in the problems we are still having with the Soviet Union in signing the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty?

[Dienstbier] I spoke with Ambassador [as heard] Pankin on 27 August, and we also touched on the subject of the treaty—although they are now having to consolidate themselves a bit to begin with. At that time, he still did not know that he would be the next foreign minister. Speaking for himself he said that he envisaged that the problems that have existed so far would cease to exist, problems that Deputy Foreign Minister Kvitsinskiy, in particular, had been pushing through when he demanded in totally tough—and I would say at times arrogant—manner that we should sign the clause that we would not become members of hostile alliances. At the same time, people such as Krichinskiy usually reserved the right to decide what were hostile alliances and thereby exert pressure on other states. Kvitsinskiy has also now departed. Boris Pankin is there, and I assume that our relations, as far the office of the foreign minister is concerned, could be good. Of course, the appointment of the foreign minister does not as yet resolve all problems. Everything will now depend in particular on how the overall situation in the Soviet Union develops further. [end recording]

Ostrava Takeover, Security Staff Issues Discussed

LD2908183191 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] A briefing at the Federal Ministry of the Interior ended a short while ago. The first question that [radio correspondent] Ales Svoboda asked concerned today's events at the Ostrava-Mosnov airport. Martin Fendrych, the Ministry's press spokesman answered:

[Begin recording] [Fendrych] I presume that at the moment the airport is no longer held by the police. It was a joint operation by the Defense Ministry's military police and a rapid deployment unit of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, because there was serious suspicion that there were illegal weapons and drugs either at the military part or at the civilian part of the Ostrava-Mosnov airport.

The operation was prepared secretly, and thus, the public was not informed about it. It began at 0100 this morning. Representatives of the military prosecutor's office were present: 15 members of the military police and 36

members of the rapid deployment unit took part in the operation. The operation ended at 1000 this morning, and the airport will be opened to traffic during the morning.

One member of the staff—I think one of those working in the flight control tower—was slightly injured. No serious damage to the property has been caused, apart from two broken windows and some broken door locks. This, so far, is all on the Mosnov operation. I do not have any information about whether anything has been found.

[Svoboda] When can we promise our listeners more information?

[Fendrych] I hope possibly later today or tomorrow.

[Svoboda] Mr. Fendrych I would like to ask you something else now: All our listeners know that at the Federal Ministry of the Interior there is a special security staff—it began its activity with the events in the Soviet Union. What is the work of the special staff at present?

[Fendrych] As you know, the staff has been working since Monday, 19 August. It has been narrowed down, reduced last Thursday, and since then the smaller group of the staff meets regularly. Regular latest information—information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—is presented and assessed and at the same time measures set by the staff are assessed. Some measures have not yet been lifted: The stricter guarding of the border continues, and the staff will continue to meet and assess information because we do not view the situation as clearly and as calmly as it was viewed recently in our country.

[Svoboda] What, Mr. Fendrych, is causing the greatest worry?

[Fendrych] Quite clearly, the greatest worry is about the Soviet Army's Western Military District—that is, troops stationed on the territory of the former GDR. We have information that this part of the Army is very active—it is exercising. For example, the number of military flights is double that of previous weeks. This part of the Soviet Army is, in fact, cut off, and we must reckon with the possibility that some small groups will attempt to penetrate through our territory to the Soviet Union. This was, by the way, one of the reasons why the special security staff—through the Council of State Defense and the Federal Government—has asked for more than 6,000 soldiers from the Czechoslovak Army to be allocated for the protection of the state border.

[Svoboda] It also emerges that the Ukraine could be—in the case of certain events—a danger for the eastern part of Slovakia. I am sure the [special security] staff reckon with this, too.

[Fendrych] Yes, we do reckon with this. We have had information for some time that in the Ukraine, the Ukraininan Rukh group is active—it views the Ukraine in its original historical form, and we have to reckon with that. However, at the same time, we do have information that the eastern border, the Soviet border, is guarded much more than in the past. It is being guarded very carefully. [end recording]

Effects of Soviet Events on KSCM Assessed

AU2908112491 Prague CTK in English 1833 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 27 (CTK)— The suspension of the activities of the Russian Communist Party and the collapse of the Soviet Communist Party are very likely to influence the future activities and existence of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM).

KSCM Chairman Jiri Svoboda held talks with representatives of the Soviet and Russian Communist Parties and the Movement for the Democratic Reform in the Soviet Union at the beginning of this month. According to Svoboda, the participants in the talks agreed on a vision of Europe's future setup, in which social aspects would play a major role. Svoboda described the new draft program of the Soviet Communist Party as a step towards bringing the programs of the Soviet Communist Party and the KSCM closer to one another.

Representatives of the Democratic Left faction in the KSCM, which is seeking a more radical transformation of the KSCM into a democratic party, last week criticized the KSCM leadership for the wait-and-see attitude it assumed in the course of the abortive coup in the Soviet Union. Svoboda said on August 19 that "the attitude the nations of the Soviet Union will assume towards the changes is exclusively their own internal affair." It was not until August 21 that Svoboda urged the Soviet Communist Party leaders and Gennadiy Yanayev to reinstate President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The attitude of the KSCM and the fate of the Communist Parties on the territory of the Soviet Union might encourage right-wing political parties in Czechoslovakia to step up their campaign for restricting the activities of or a complete ban on the KSCM.

The KSCM is active on the territory of the Czech Republic. Before the attempted coup in the Soviet Union it had about 430,000 members and the support of 10 to 11 percent of the population of the Czech Republic, totalling 10.3 million. It is the second strongest party in the Czech Republic after the Civic Democratic Party (ODS).

Meanwhile, Federal Parliament Deputy Miroslav Jansta, who has left the KSCM, told CTK that unless the leaders of the group of Communist deputies in the Federal Parliament react resolutely to the present policy of the KSCM he would leave the group and be an independent deputy.

Jansta's departure from the KSCM deprived the party of its representation in the Parliamentary Commission

Investigating the November 17, 1989 Events in Prague, which was also engaged in the process of vetting deputies.

The group of Communist deputies in the Federal Parliament (KSCM and the Democratic Left Party-SDL) is the largest, numbering 47 deputies. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 28 August on page 2 carries a 200-word report on an interview which Miroslav Jansta gave to CTK. Jansta says that he left the KSCM "to document that it is impossible to talk with the present leadership of this party" and "to open the eyes of my colleagues from the Democratic Left in the KSCM." Jansta also urges the KSCM leadership to "finally say a clear word about the KSCM's present policy."]

SDL Asks Svoboda to Resign

LD2808221491 Prague CTK in English 2053 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 27 (CTK)—The "Democratic Left" faction within the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) is insisting that party chairman Jiri Svoboda step down because of his alleged sympathy for the failed coup in the Soviet Union last week, a party spokesman told CTK today.

Michal Klaus said the faction wants Svoboda and the party's entire executive committee to resign before the committee is scheduled to meet Wednesday and before a meeting the same day of the federal council of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSCS).

Klaus said the Democratic Left is also calling for the party newspaper HALO to cease publication. It wants the KSCS and the KSCM to hold party congresses immediately.

At the very least the faction demands a name change for the republic and federal parties and an affirmation of their non-communist character, according to Klaus.

CSSD Calls on Communist Party to Dissolve

AU2908142891 Prague CTK in English 1706 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 27 (CTK)— Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) Chairman Jiri Horak at a news conference today again called on the Communist Party and all its offshoots and successor organizations to dissolve themselves.

However, he said he is not demanding that the Communist Party be outlawed, as that would run counter to the principles of democracy.

Horak said the CSSD was not surprised by the restrained attitude shown by the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia at the outset of the attempted coup in the Soviet Union last week.

Horak also attacked Czechoslovak Finance Minister and Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Chairman Vaclav Klaus for his reaction to the putsch, saying Klaus chose a "realistic" stance, reflecting narrow economic interests, over a forthright condemnation of events.

The CSSD is in favor of recognizing the independence of the Baltic republics, Horak said.

Dismissing criticism by House of Nations Chairman Milan Sutovec on Czechoslovak Television last night of Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) Chairman Alexander Dubcek for his alleged reluctance to call a special session of the parliament Presidium during the Soviet coup, Ivan Fisera said at the news conference that Sutovec was probably under some pressure to act as he did. Fisera, a member of the CSSD Presidium and a parliament deputy, labelled the attack on Dubcek while parliament is in recess "political dilettantism."

CSSD Deputy Pavel Dostal pointed out that Sutovec has been proposed as a possible successor to Dubcek in the post of parliament chairman.

Fisera warned against Sudeten German expellee groups in Germany challenging the privatization process under way in Czechoslovakia and even demanding that it be halted. Privatization is a matter for the Czechoslovak state, Fisera said, and restitution should apply to property lost from February 25, 1948, on.

The property of Germans living in Czechoslovakia was nationalized under a series of decrees by Czechoslovak President Eduard Benes after the Second World War.

Miklosko Views Slovakia's, Europe's Future

LD2608200591 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Interview with Slovak Council Speaker Frantisek Miklosko by Michal Tvarozek; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Tvarozek] Mr. Speaker, how do you see the future of the CSFR in connection with the events in the USSR and in Yugoslavia?

[Miklosko] In the USSR, communism has fallen. I think definitely. The spontaneous ban of communist parties in individual republics is, I think, almost irreversible. Second, I have seen the all-Union treaty that has to be adopted, and which now is to be even looser. Even in its original form, it said that it is a union of completely independent republics, and there is a possibility that other countries can join this union, too. As I have seen the individual points of this treaty, it seems to me, at first glance, that a second center of European integration is being established. The first is the European Community in the West; the second is around the Russian Republic.

[Tvarozek] But is this not a germ of two antagonistic systems again?

[Miklosko] It can be said that, in the future, it might no longer be on the basis of ideology, but on a different basis, perhaps nationalist, or something else, but in any case, two great dominants are starting to appear on the scene—Germany and Russia—around which these integrations will center, whether we want it or not. Naturally, in this spirit, we will not be able to avoid an enormous influence on developments in Czechoslovakia.

In this context, however, the population of the Czech lands and that of Slovakia will have to think about the concept of its future and its chances to get into each zone, to be able to implement its plans further. In my view, in this spirit it is necessary now to speak quite openly in this new political situation with Czech politicians, with the representatives of the federation, with the president, and to become aware of what we want, how we do what is required to deal with the situation.

[Tvarozek] It has been said for quite some time that, in the case of a split of the Czechoslovak republics into two independent states, the Czech lands would fall under the influence of the EEC and Slovakia into the zone of influence of the Soviet Union. Have you considered this possibility too, or is it a chimera?

[Miklosko] Naturally, if we imagine, just in theory, that the Czechoslovak republic will break up, to ask where Slovakia will go, to the Eastern or the Western zone of influence, would depend on in which way the Slovak Republic or the Czech Republic establishes contact, with whom, who will show economic and political interest so this republic becomes integrated and created in its position in this or the other zone of influence. This is, however, a fact, and we have to come to terms with it.

[Tvarozek] In that case, would it not be better to remain together as a republic to be able to prevent these influences, or perhaps influence, that we would not like to be under?

[Miklosko] I prefer to deal with the problem of Czechoslovakia in horizontal terms, in terms of gradual ripening, until the time when the border issue will be overcome and when, in this process, subjects such as the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic will become, in the natural manner of development, regular subjects of the European community, and I don't mean the Western one—I mean the community of European nations. This natural way of development seems to be better and more promising for Slovakia, in my view, than a radical solution by which we could find ourselves suddenly in the sphere of influence of the Eastern zone that would then last for a long time—I say openly—and is a quite a long-term change for the future.

[Tvarozek] And in conclusion, which of those two variants do you prefer: To remain in the common state or to fight for independence?

[Miklosko] I will not answer this question because it is a question that at this moment is too much for me, and I think for all of us: We have to mature until we are able to deal with these questions. I feel that Slovakia has aspirations to mature into an equal European nation, but I feel an enormous responsibility that a speedy and hasty action without an agreement with our neighbors might mean a collapse that could take us years to overcome. I cannot answer this question. It is a question that needs to ripen.

Lethal Powder Found at Milovice Military Area

AU3008092791 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 27 Aug 91 p 2

[Vlastimil Horak report: "Death in Milovice"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The results of yesterday's chemical analysis have shown that the unknown white powder discovered in bags laying around in the Milovice military area decomposes blood and causes a heamatogenous disorder. The fatal dose for an adult is 10 to 15 grams. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Asks for Recognition of Croatia

LD2908130191 Budapest MTI in English 0830 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Budapest, August 29 (MTI)—"We have come to Budapest to propose that Hungary should support Croatia in its struggle for survival. The main goal of my visit is to ask Hungary to recognize Croatia's independent statehood," Zvonimir Separovic, Croatian foreign minister, told Thursday's NEPSZABADSAG. Separovic held talks with his Hungarian counterpart Geza Jeszenszky on Wednesday.

Separovic said: "The deeper we are plunging into war, the more we are suffering. Regrettably, many people are just expecting a catastrophe, the crumbling of our territory and nation in the fighting. In this crucial moment, the international community should not hesitate. We deeply appreciate the international efforts aimed at restoring peace, the plans for a cease-fire and the observers mission. We would welcome the arrival of peace-keeping forces in the region. It is even more important that international pressure be imposed on the aggressors, who strive to modify the borders forcefully through the violation of international law."

Asked about the time he expects Croatia to be first recognized as an independent state, the Croatian foreign minister said:

"I think it will happen next week. Austria may play a leading role, but other countries, like Australia, Argentina, and perhaps Albania, Iceland, Denmark and Belgium may follow its example. We hope that the diplomatic recognitions, first of all by Austria, Germany and Hungary, will strongly support peace in the region. This lies in the interest of the Croats and of Europe as a whole.

Since member republics of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union are declaring their independence one after the other, NEPSZABADSAG asked Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky to define the stance of the Hungarian Government towards recognition of sovereign states. The foreign minister said: "Hungary does not stand alone, and diplomatic recognition is a common European affair. Our concept in brief: Let there be peace, self-determination and democracy, and all the other things simply enforce these principles. It is not exclusively for the Yugoslav situation that I leave for Greece today, but my five-nation tour, including my participation in the Moscow conference on human dimensions, will create an opportunity for me to promote a solution acceptable by the European communities."

Asked whether Hungary was considering the recognition of Soviet republics other than the Baltic states, Jeszenszky said:

"The Baltic states are in an essentially different situation than the other republics. They had, by international law, an independent statehood that was suspended for many years. As a matter of fact, we will restore, rather than establish, diplomatic relations with these states as soon as possible."

German Military Official on NATO Guarantees

LD2908224891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Excerpts] If Budapest has a high-ranking military guest from abroad, it is inevitable that journalists will ask him about the Yugoslav crisis situation, even if his visit has nothing whatsoever to do with it. Katalin Mogyoro reports:

[Mogyoro] Although Dieter Wellershof, chief observer from the Bundeswehr, dressed in civilian clothes, stated at the beginning of his press briefing that his four-day visit to Budapest was not taking place for any special, topical reason, but as part of the customary process of German-Hungarian military cooperation, journalists were primarily interested in topical questions— for example, whether NATO could provide guarantees for Hungary in the event of a coup like the Soviet one?

The chief observer from the Bundeswehr declared that the West European military organization cannot provide any form of guarantees for countries outside the organization. But such problems can be overcome through bilateral military agreements.

He also explained that when events occur somewhere that give grounds for tensions, the international climate of opinion has a very important role, and the position adfopted by NATO has a significant impact on establishing this. [passage omitted]

Lieutenant General Kalman Loerincz, who is hosting the senior German official, stated at the press briefing, in connection with recent events, that there is no special state of emergency in the Hungarian Army and that recruitment of conscripts is taking place at the usual rate. But last Thursday's airspace violation by Yugoslav planes forced the military leadership to take precautionary measures. The radar system in the southern part of the country will be upgraded, and new ones will be installed. Helicopter and fighter plane patrols are being conducted to prevent further border violations.

MSZP News Conference on International Issues

LD2908214991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0855 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Statements given by Hungarian Socialist Party leaders at a news conference in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Reporter Zsuzsa Vajda] The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] faction is briefing the press on topical international issues. Gyula Horn and Laszlo Kovacs are already at the microphone. Csaba Tabajdi has also taken a seat, and numerous people from the faction have come to listen.

[Moderator] [passage omitted] I turn the microphone over to Gyula Horn, chairman of the HSP.

[Horn] Ladies and gentlemen, I shall first speak very briefly about the situation in the USSR and about the lessons from it. I believe that it can be unequivocally established that with the failure, the thwarting of the coup, a new phase, properly speaking, is beginning in the life of the USSR, and in my view, the essence is that the process of radical transformation is irreversible.

Naturally, the troubles and problems that, in part, generated the coup and that still appear in the internal life of the USSR have not ceased. Allow me also to add that in the Soviet Union the biggest problem, the biggest difficulty, the source of very many tensions in the coming period will be the relationship between the republics, including the interpretation and drawing of borders, etc.

Thus, we invariably attribute great importance to the events in the USSR.

I should also like to emphasize that the Hungarian lessons, experiences, that we have drawn from the developments in the USSR show that a sort of social consensus exists in connection with judgment of the situation in the USSR, especially the coup. Allow me also to add that, naturally, there were dissonant voices, too. We have spoken about these in various statements. [passage omitted]

The other question that we consider to be more important, since the events are here along our borders, is the situation in Yugoslavia. In our view, in the view of the HSP faction, at the moment the civil war in Yugoslavia is unstoppable. The danger threatens, indeed it is a reality, that Yugoslavia might sink into civil war.

All the honorable international efforts undertaken by the Twelve are ineffective. In our view, regarding the enormous disputes and internal problems that strain all of Yugoslavia and have led to war, the first thing that must happen is a halt, a cessation of the war.

Our opinion is that this is no longer a Yugoslav internal affair, and it was not really so before.

In connection with this, allow me to mention two things: One is that it is known that this war destabilizes the entire region. At the same time, the war is tearing apart, breaking apart Hungary's relations and its neighbors' relations with Yugoslavia. Second, and not last, very serious nationality problems are mixed up in the affair, since Yugoslavia's nationalities live in all of the neighboring countries, and the reverse is also true, that nationalities living in neighboring countries also live in Yugoslavia. Thus, this too is why the whole thing cannot be Yugoslavia's internal affair.

With regard to the fact that, as I have mentioned, the international efforts have remained ineffective, in our view it would be necessary, as soon as possible, to convene a consultation of the neighboring countries, naturally with the participation of the Yugoslav partners concerned, so that some kind of solution, some method could be found for us to create, with international efforts, the possibility of peaceful coexistence between Yugoslavia's republics.

Another thing: Our opinion is that this, the Yugoslav crisis, must, in the final analysis, be an affair of the Security Council. I only wish to note that without underestimating the efforts of the Community, the Twelve, Yugoslavia could take its recommendations into consideration, but Yugoslavia is not a member of the Community. However, it is a member of the United Nations.

In this manner, the task falls on the UN Security Council to take steps. In my view, whether along parliamentary or government channels, it would be necessary to initiate this, by requesting one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to convene the Council as soon as possible on the Yugoslav affair.

I should like to add that to be able to have an impact on the attitude of Serbian political circles, it is necessary for a declaration to be made internationally, not only in connection with the Helsinki Final Act, that the issue of Yugoslavia's borders, including its internal borders, cannot be the internal affair of any of its member republics, its current republics. Thus, if Serbia wants to alter its own borders as a consequence of the independence endeavors, this is an international affair. No one can alter borders unilaterally. This is banned by both the Helsinki Final Act and other international agreements and conventions.

So the Yugoslav republics must be made clearly aware that this is conceivable only through negotiations, and the community of nations accepts nothing that might be contrary to these international obligations of Yugoslavia or, even more, to Yugoslavia's internal peace and stability.

The third thing is that in our view it is absolutely necessary for us to take action along the lines of the legislative factions—at least this is the opinion of the HSP faction. This means that negotiations must begin first and foremost with the three republics concerned, Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia, amid the appropriate legislative and party frameworks.

I should like to note, by way of a personal opinion, that all sides are responsible, to an extent, for the outbreak and continuation of the war. Thus, it is not possible to one-sidedly seek those who are responsible. All that happens in Yugoslavia is an issue of joint responsibility in Yugoslavia.

Lastly, with regard to the extreme importance of the crisis in Yugoslavia and its direct impact on us, in our view it is necessary without delay, this week, to convene representatives of the six legislative parties—even at the leadership level—and it is necessary to discuss the necessary measures that are indispensable for averting the dangers that are growing day by day.

I believe that on the basis of experience, for example, of the coup attempt in the USSR, the Government is open and ready to move in such a direction. We, for our part, wish to initiate this, and we wish to hold talks with the other legislative parties; I trust that there is agreement with Government in this matter. Thank you. [passage omitted]

[Csaba Tabajdi] I should like to call attention to three factors in connection with the Soviet crisis. On the one hand, I believe that the state of catastrophe that prevailed in Soviet public opinion before the coup, this feeling that a catastrophic situation existed, exists even now, only it now has a different character.

It is necessary for the new elite to run a race against time. It depends on two basic factors whether Yeltsin's team will be able to consolidate their power: whether they will be able, within the foreseeable future, to create the political and economic institutions, and what is more essential, whether they will be able to guarantee the minimum provisions. The third condition is whether Yeltsin will be able, out of this state of euphoric victory, to react with authoritative level-headedness, since in the current situation, if society's euphoria swings over into a sort of hysteria, there will remain no integrating forces other than two—anticommunism and nationalism. This is an enormous danger about which we read in today's papers, the reaction of Yeltsin's men. The relationship of Russia and the non-Russian republics is far from unequivocal.

Another thing: If this anti-communist hysteria intensifies, Yeltsin will meet the fate of the reform communists. In the case of Yeltsin too, they will begin to seek and search out the CPSU membership. Thus, Yeltsin will follow the fate of Imre Pozsgay and Miklos Nemeth. [passage omitted]

There is a third thing, to which Gyula Horn already referred: the Soviet crisis and the Yugoslav crisis have shown how unprepared the new international order is. It has no conflict-handling mechanisms. The European communities do not understand many things in Yugoslavia, as has been mentioned by Gyula Horn and Laszlo Kovacs but, in particular, there is no conflict-handling concept for the minority issue.

The minority conference held in Geneva in July within the framework of the CSCE, the Helsinki process, also showed that fear of nationalism is possible; but if, on the minority issue, we do not try to work out legal European norms of international law as well as conflict-handling mechanisms, institutions, control mechanisms, then in Central and East Europe, with regard to the interethnic conflicts that are expected to become more aggravated in the Soviet Union, I believe that we cannot create European stability if we do not make progress in this sphere. [passage omitted]

Labor Affairs Center Details Unemployment Figures

AU2408182491

[Editorial Report] NEPSZAVA in Hungarian on 22 August on pages 1 and 7 carries a 700-word report on the National Labor Affairs Center's latest data on unemployment, under the headline: "Workforce Market With Small Demand."

NEPSZAVA reports that unemployment is increasingly starting to "burden young people." According to the National Labor Affairs Center's data, "18,000 first-time job seekers contacted employment agencies" by the end of July. NEPSZAVA notes that "65 percent of the young people seeking employment have finished trade schools or vocational secondary schools."

In the article, NEPSZAVA reports that "unemployment rose by 16.7 percent in July." Furthermore, "more than 216,000 people were on the streets by the end of July, and that corresponds to a national average unemployment rate of 4.5 percent." NEPSZAVA notes that the situation differs from county to county, and that "in the northern and eastern counties," the unemployment rate sometimes "exceeds 10 percent." NEPSZAVA points out that "it is primarily men who are hit by unemployment; men "account for 60 percent" of the country's unemployed.

NEPSZAVA also reports that "for every (registered) unemployed these days, there are only seven positions available." Moreover, "in the month of July, enterprises and institutions announced the closure of another 28,000 positions." According to the NEPSZAVA article, "a further 74,000 dismissals are expected by the end of this year."

As far as unemployment benefits are concerned, NEPSZAVA points out that "out of all the people who received unemployment benefits or grants this year, only 17 percent managed to find new jobs."

Reportage on Bielecki Government Resignation

Bielecki Warns Sejm

LD2908210491 Warsaw PAP in English 1944 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki warned against attempts to paralyse state institutions and told newsmen Thursday that "the government wants to work in the conditions of a democratic system, in good cooperation with the Parliament and respecting this Parliament."

Bielecki's statement came after a proposal was made at the Sejm (lower house) meeting to dismiss his government and leave it only as a temporary body authorized to exercise power till the new government is appointed following the October general elections.

"This move must be received as a beginning of great destabilization," Bielecki cautioned and argued that this is but a result of "political games prior to the election campaign."

The proposal to dismiss the Bielecki government came after Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz presented to the chamber a government draft amending the 1991 budget law, with amendments boiling down to considerable cuts in expenditures for nearly all domains of public life.

The chamber blamed the Bielecki government for failing to work out an anti-recession policy. But the prime minister argued: "We have assumed from the very beginning that we shall never make empty promises."

He rejected the idea that Balcerowicz should be sacked. "Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz wanted to present honestly the threats to public finances in 1992," Bielecki argued.

Bielecki said that he had talked to Lech Walesa Thursday morning and the president made no suggestions whatsoever to this effect (that is that Balcerowicz should be dismissed.) "Relations between the government and the president's office are good," Bielecki added.

Meanwhile, Deputy Finance Minister Wojciech Misiag, who is Balcerowicz's close associate, told newsmen that if the Sejm rejects the amendments to the 1991 budget law it will continue to be binding but expenditures would have to be cut anyway.

He called budgetary cuts painful but not dramatic. But he failed to make it clear whether the cabinet would resign if the Sejm rejects the proposed cuts.

Misiag said national income produced in 1991 will be by some 10 percent smaller that last year and the national income distributed will be by 2-3 percent smaller, while inflation will amount to 11.4 percent during the second half of this year.

Walesa Supports Bielecki

LD3008105991 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0940 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Interview with Slawomir Siwek, secretary of state in the presidential chancellery, by unidentified correspondent at the Sejm in Warsaw on 30 August—live]

[Text] [Siwek] The prime minister enjoys the absolute support of the president. The analysis that the prime minister presented to the Sejm is a precise one. It encompasses all the problems the government is grappling with. It may clearly be seen that the government must receive the conditions for efficient activity, and not merely submit to the pre-electoral political game that (?is being played) here in the Sejm.

[Correspondent] In your opinion, sir, is there a chance that the resignation... that deputies will not accept Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki's resignation en bloc and, in this connection, is there a chance for the cabinet to continue?

[Siwek] The prime minister clearly defined the conditions that had to be met for him to continue and to develop his work. The president's reaction was simply the fact of the president's presence during possibly the most politically important speech made by Prime Minister Bielecki in the Sejm from the moment the government began its work. Well, the president never hid his attitude concerning the possibilities for this government to function and, in this complicated political situation, the possibilities for the government's cooperation with Parliament, such as it is. (?In the end), the president stated this many times, and gave proof of the fact that the elections ought to take place early, that a stable Parliament ought to emerge, so that the government could work with Parliament,—because, after all, this situation cannot go on forever.

[Correspondent] What ought to be done to make this cooperation possible? What ought to be done today?

[Siwek] The government ought to receive wide possibilities for conducting its policies and wide powers.

[Correspondent, interrupting] How wide?

[Siwek] ...together with prime minister's right to appoint a cabinet with such a composition as would suit him in this crisis situation.

Bielecki Government Resigns

LD3008095791 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0707 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Speech by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki to the Sejm in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Deputies, ladies and gentlemen! We made a serious political mistake in Poland this year. It was to postpone the first free parliamentary elections since the war, which the president proposed for May. [applause]

I, too, as prime minister, bear the responsibility for that mistake: I concentrated too much on solving current problems. From today's perspective, one can see that the delay in holding elections is having very negative effects.

May it please the House! We are at a special and dramatic moment. I will give a few examples: In Bialystok, a strike of public transport has been in progress for a month now. It is paralyzing the town and making the inhabitants' life difficult. From the legal viewpoint, it is illegal. In Radom, Municipal Cleansing Enterprise employees are on strike because they want to have the exclusive right to derive profit from the town's market. This has caused the need to proclaim a state of ecological disaster and painful difficulties for the town's inhabitants.

In a few days' time, a strike by Agricultural Circles activists is to begin as well, consisting of an open-ended occupation of the Belvedere, the office of the Council of Ministers, the radio committee, and the headquarters of the voivodship and parish authorities. The continuation of this campaign is to be an open- ended blockade of the roads.

This week, the OPZZ [National Trade Union Accord] organized a demonstration of pensioners. Elderly people in a street procession called the president and government thieves. They shouted among other things "Down with that gang!" There are many strikes and protests like that aimed against the state and its reforms. One can see from this that declarations of love for democracy, the law, and a market economy do not tie in with actual behavior.

Could it be that Poles are theoretically for, yet in practice against? This phenomenon is accompanied by a decline in authority, particularly the authority of law.

May it please the House! Yesterday, a formal motion on the recall of the government was submitted in this hall for the second time. In this motion, the Council of Ministers was treated as a necessary evil for recalling and charging with responsibilities. There was even one voice calling for recall and the granting of special powers. It is possible that I do not understand politics too well, but I probably understand well the rules of this particular game, especially as the interests of our state would also be subordinated to them.

Understanding, however, does not have to denote entry into the political game. We find ourselves in a situation where our state is threatened with a paralysis in decision-making. The symptoms already appeared earlier. The reform places before us the necessity of making very difficult decisions almost every day. To make their implementation possible, what was and continues to be necessary is good cooperation between the executive and legislative authorities. Things were variable here, and today they are tragic. This causes, on the one hand, a lack of understanding, a sense of injustice within society. On the other hand, it pushes us toward a deep crisis in the state's public finances. Such questions as the following come to mind: How long will the pseudo-unemployed live off the state's coffers? Is the existence of unemployed people whose income is so great that they pay a surtax moral? How long will people be able to retire on pensions of many millions, in this way exhausting budgetary resources that could be allocated to the improvement of the lives of the poorest? Does the state necessarily have to subsidize steelworks, many of which continue to derive income from pig farms? Is it as if we already knew that we have to return to an economy of shortages? Would the mass reduction of the debts of enterprises that is being proposed by some experts not end up threatening the population's deposits? I have often been asked in the esteemed chamber about the Ursus affair. Today, following initial analysis by a team of experts, I would like to say just one thing: Simply, if instead of artificially lowering the costs of production, we had counted the inflowing streams of money, we would have known already last year that they were negative, and then credits, investment credits, would not have been taken out at the bank, at the state bank, to artificially keep the enterprise alive and to pay dividends, so the ministry would not enter with remedial action.

Besides, this list of issues is a long one. For months now, we have been striving to solve these issues without meeting with greater understanding from Parliament. [some applause] In exchange, the Sejm put off recalling a minister who submitted his resignation, and this, in circumstances where the same Sejm had earlier, on the strength of a law, disbanded the ministry that this minister ran. Given such an approach, will the government always be condemned to defeat and the policies implemented by it also be defeated? Such a state of affairs also makes a sense of joint responsibility for the interests of the state impossible. My government does not have its parliamentary majority and will not, therefore, survive the election campaign already in progress. We cannot play with Polish interests. There is no place for miracles in the economy. We could, of course, consciously mobilize inflation before the elections. The budget is always the first to win out through inflation. In the final reckoning, however, following momentary euphoria, who would lose the most? It would, after all, be the poorest, those on fixed incomes basically. We could also try another type of demagogy, taking our example from the surrealism of the economic program of the authors of the state of emergency in the Soviet Union. Wages up, prices down, divided up among everybody—absurd promises made with complete awareness that they cannot be implemented.

However, my definition of responsibility for the State is completely different. I think the most honest thing is to tell the truth. Today, we face the imperative to make an important correction to the state budget. This has nothing to do with political game playing, but results from the real situation of our economy: the vital need to make a choice, for unfortunately we have no horn of plenty.

Substantive discussion will not be replaced by the motion to recall the government, not to change the Budget, and to order the recalled government to implement unrealistic assumptions. Recalling the government must serve a specific aim and be based on concrete premises. This aim is, above all, to appoint a new government. The Constitution even provides for the dissolution of the Sejm if it does not appoint a government within three months. Appointing a new government means trusting it to meet the Sejm's stated expectations. It is worth recalling that this Budget was passed by the Sejm, in fact, in accordance with the assumptions of socioeconomic policy also adopted last year. The government is, therefore, implementing that budget. Recalling the government and instructing it to continue to function, with a lack of amendments to the budget and practical refusal of support for the government's actions on the part of the Sejm, leads us on the road straight to paralysis in running the state. This kind of agreed political structure does not have much in common with the raison d'etat.

Our state is in profound crisis. It is even not enough to pass new regulations. The collective political strength to implement them is also necessary. A system capable of flexible and quick reaction to the appearing dangers is necessary. This also applies to the external situation. It (?was) revealed particularly glaringly during the recent events in the Soviet Union. To guarantee Poland a safe position in the world, we must continue our efforts aimed at integrating with the European Community and cooperation with NATO.

During this most recent period, in particular, interesting prospects have emerged for Poland. We are receiving signals that already in the first days of September we might receive more favorable conditions from the EC. Nevertheless, how can the government effectively realize strategic aims for the nation and state when, although it is admittedly functioning, it can be recalled from one week to the next. There is no room here for games and pretense. Poland faces many difficult years of a difficult reform process. The course of yesterday's Sejm debate proves that the possibilities for effective cooperation between the government and Parliament on previous terms have been exhausted.

May it please the House, I cannot agree to be the subject of a surrealist game, to be a figurehead for a few months, because this will lead the state to chaos and anarchy. That is why, respecting the principles of democracy and with a sense of responsibility for the fate of the state, I submit the resignation of the Council of Ministers that I had the honor to lead.

President Agrees

LD3008132891 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1155 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Minister Adam Glapinski has told journalists that the government's resignation was agreed upon with the president and added that it was hard to imagine exerting executive authority without extraordinary powers.

'Special Powers' Needed

LD3008111691 Warsaw PAP in English 0939 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—President Lech Walesa is determined to do all to ensure smooth functioning of the state, president's spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said as he commented on the dismissal of prime minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki and his Cabinet on Friday morning.

Drzycimski did not rule out holding a press conference at the president's residence in Belvedere later today. He said that "this dismissal could have been anticipated and it is clear that the government needs special powers in order to proceed to a new system. The developments in Russia have confirmed the maleficence of waiting," he said adding that the president expects giving special powers to the government until parliamentary elections in October.

Meanwhile, Secretary of State in the President's Chancellery Slawomir Siwek told a meeting of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club OKP that largest industrial plants and their Solidarity organizations are making declarations supporting special powers for the government which "should have wide not limited powers" in order to continue work.

Sejm Defers Resignation Debate

LD3008155791 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1515 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] A piece of the very latest news: The Council of Elders has proposed to defer until tomorrow the debate on the resignation of the government. This met with opposition from Deputy Stefan Niesolowski, who saw in the delay an element of destabilization. By 209 votes for and 65 against, the Sejm deferred the debate until tomorrow.

Official Goes to Baltics; Diplomatic Ties Sought

LD2908170491 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1515 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] In 1940, the Polish government in London did not recognize the annexation of the Baltic republics by the USSR. Forty-nine years later, at the United Nations the Polish minister of foreign affairs emphasized that the German-Soviet agreements from 1930-41 [as heard] dealing with the Baltic republics were invalid and contrary to the norms of international law and treaties agreed to earlier.

On Monday, Poland officially recognized the independence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Today the deputy director of the European department [of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs] left for the capitals of these states with letters from Prime Minister Bielecki. Poland wants to establish diplomatic relations with the Baltic

states. Last October, we signed a declaration on mutual relations with the Ukraine. We signed one with Latvia on 13 June of this year. Such a document, taking into consideration the broad rights and liberties of Poles in the Vilnius region, will be signed with Lithuania. The recognition of Belorussian independence must also be preceeded by a declaration.

Walesa-Gorbachev Telephone Conversation Reported

LD2808201691 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1759 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Telehone conversation between President Lech Walesa and USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev on 28 August; Gorbachev in Russian with superimposed Polish translation—recorded]

[Text] [Walesa, in progress] ...of the Polish Republic.

[Gorbachev] Mr. President, dear neighbor, I welcome you, and in my first words I want to say that I am very grateful to you that in the first hours [word indistinct] you stood by the side of our valid issue, that you expressed strong support on behalf of our neighbor, the Polish nation, and yourself personally. Please forgive me that I was not able to be connected with you. I think that you, Mr. President, understand me, because after all, you experienced a similar situation yourself.

[Walesa] Yes, Mr. President, I understand you exactly.

[Gorbachev] I would like now to hear what you have to say, and then I would like to tell you a few words about the situation here.

[Walesa] Mr. President, what we have to do, both Poland and your great country, is terribly complicated and difficult. It must be remembered that our fates are linked to each other. It has to be remembered that we will remain where we are.

And in such a situation, we ought to make an effort for good cooperation and good friendship. I am aware of the great difficulties in reforming the Soviet Union. We already went through this earlier and know how difficult it is. And we know that the problems really only begin now. I wish greater cooperation in every sphere. For today, we have two large problems and difficulties. I want the president to understand us. Matters of the withdrawal of Soviet forces is an important issue for us. And here the greatest amount must be done—and reasonably quickly. But economic cooperation is important. For today, we have a very dangerous situation in Poland. Today, we have sold to you $200 million worth of goods and have received no money. In addition, we have produced goods for you in accordance with agreements to the value of $200 million. By the end of the year, there will be around a billion dollars that we cannot get from you. I understand the complicated situation because I am going through the same thing myself. But we must find opportunities for cooperation to take care of this situation. This will help both your reforms and our reforms. Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz will soon be in Moscow.

He will be discussing these subjects because we must find possibilities for cooperation. Of course, I would like other subjects to be submitted by the ambassadors, so that we may also find opportunities. I have good relations with Ambassador Kashlev; we cooperate well, and I think that in the future we should be exploited more fully. [sentence as heard] Once again, to conclude, I would like to say that we are in solidarity on this difficult period of reform, and of course, perhaps even our reluctance is not the result of our not wanting greater friendship, but we want to hinder you as little as possible. We do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. At the least, we do not want to hinder you. They know that in the long term our cooperation is imperative, and we are condemned to it. I am hoping for talks, I am hoping for discussion of many problems that could serve our improved cooperation. I hand over to you, Mr. President.

[Gorbachev] Good, Mr. President. I am pleased with this conversation. You are right, Mr. President, for history (?has arranged things) so that we will be living as we are living now, both you and I, sir. Yes, our history is not an easy one: generally, your history and our history, sir, but I would like to assure you, Mr. President, that for us, relations with Poland, with the Slavic Polish nation, is a grand strategy.

We want to be friends, we want to be good neighbors, we want cooperation. And I judge that you are correct in that, as the objective logic is such, as there is understanding equally in the Soviet leadership and in the Polish leadership, then I think matters will turn out for us, as you say. We are now rejecting much of this, we are now rejecting much of this mechanism that allowed for the maintenance of cooperation with the countries of Eastern Europe. Whereas the visit of Deputy Balcerowicz will allow us to establish everything concretely. I would just want the President to have the (?truth), that now the whole of our Council of Ministers is resigning. And that is why we will need a certain amount of time so that Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz can really establish contacts with people and later cooperate with them. We are interested in our economic relations taking on the dimensions that are appropriate. Now, we are saying in our country: nine plus one, but after all, really, it is appropriate to say that another six still come into this. I have in mind here all those countries with which previously there was cooperation, those countries that developed so much that now they cannot live without each other. And that is why we must concern ourselves with this matter. I judge that through mutual effort we ought to maintain this area of cooperation, and also good relations.

This is the first thing I want to say. Secondly, Mr. President, we do not have any other approach, and really we do want to withdraw the forces as quickly as possible.

And I know that in the appropriate ministries this matter is being discussed. I just ask the president for understanding; I ask as a neighbor, because all that took place here also very strongly touched our Army. And that is why I ask for understanding, assuring that we will do everything as quickly as possible. We will also be concretely discussing this issue...

[Walesa, interrupting] Mr. President! Mr. President!

[Gorbachev] Yes?

[Walesa] I hope that this does not look as if Poland wants to exploit the difficulties of the Soviet Union at this moment. We are far from such a situation. We do not want to exploit the difficulties of the Soviet Union. We do not want to humiliate the Soviet Army. It is only because we are entering into today. The old epoch costs much and gives nothing. And so, the point is the conception and not the exploitation of possibilities. And it is the same with cooperation. We must...all countries are condemned to cooperation, for we have a similar technological development. Of course, there are certain regularities or mechanisms in such a situation.

When nations make a leap to freedom, they think they can do everything themselves, but when they later peacefully enjoy political freedom they come to the conclusion they should, however, return to the position of economic cooperation. We want to tell the Soviet nations that you are so economically linked that you are fated to each other, fated to cooperation, naturally under new conditions.

[Gorbachev] I agree with you. And now a few words about the current situation. A discussion is going on and also the formation of the structures of the center, Union structures, is being prepared, and what we are striving for, first and foremost, is the avoidance of chaos. I can assure you there is calm in the country, even though the country has experienced a shock. Next Monday, that is the date we have set for a congress of peoples deputies. I am to make a speech take up specific questions associated with the Supreme Soviet and also make decisions on other matters at that time. Now, however, we're examining the essential steps that will have to be taken, if it's a question of the Union's scope, the continuation of reforms. Elements of a stabilizing nature and also long term elements will be included here. In the Armed Forces, the situation is not bad at the moment.

We are now taking legal measures, very harsh legal measures, but solely in relation to those who joined the coup. We decidely disassociate ourselves from any possibilities whatsoever; we are doing everything so as not to allow a new period of repression to begin. We are doing everything so as not to allow this to happen. We need specific decisions regarding several very important subjects. These are the provision of fuel and the matter of food, but the situation is exceptionally complex. The most important thing we need is agreement, agreement between the republics and agreement within the whole of society. On the other hand, we now have an exceptional opportunity to accelerate the transformations. I will be maintaining contact with you, Mr. President. Yesterday, I wrote a short letter to you, Mr. President, to express my gratitude for your solidarity with us. We will be preparing for a meeting with you, Mr. President.

[Walesa] Yes, I am hoping for such a meeting, and at the same time, Mr. President, I believe the really big problems are still before you. Turning back the wheel of history is extremely difficult.

I want you to know that Poland is in solidarity with and friendly in relations with the Soviet nations. And truly, I very much understand the difficulty and complexity of these processes. We will do everything to help your reforms. And at the least, not to hinder. And this is why we count on contacts in which we will be able to so implement our problems. [as heard] I personally wish you success, and on this road of reform may there never be such emotional cases.

[Gorbachev] Yes, indeed. Such a case can only be tolerated once.

[Walesa] After my internment—a long one—I know that possibilities still exist.

Jaruzelski, Kwasniewski on Gorbachev CPSU Exit

AU2808123591 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 26 Aug 91 p 1

[Report signed 'DASZ': "They Told TRYBUNA"]

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski [former president]: The need for such a decision by Gorbachev began to mature earlier on. It stems from the logic of the reforms that he himself started.

When I became president, I resigned from the function of first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party], for I realized that it was not expedient to combine both functions. It was to be expected that Mikhail Sergeyevich would do the same thing at the right moment.

What prevented him from doing so? It is difficult not to notice certain structural-state differences between Poland and the Soviet Union. When I quit the party leadership, the PZPR no longer performed a leading role in the state, but it was one of the components of the state's political structure. On the other hand, the CPSU still performed a leading role in the Soviet state. No doubt M. Gorbachev needed a political backdrop. Therefore, as general secretary, he attempted to alter the countenance of the CPSU.

Therefore, I stress once again: Something has happened that stems from the logic of a historic process. The shock caused by the putsch has finally jolted Mikhail Gorbachev into making this decision.

Aleksander Kwasniewski [chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland]: Gorbachev's decision shows how profound the changes in the USSR are. The Soviet Union, as we know it, is coming to an end. The institutions that form the backbone of this state, including the CPSU, are terminating.

Today the basic question is: Can one create a strong left-wing party in the USSR, or what is left of it? I believe such a party is necessary. I hope the people who belonged to the CPSU, to its reformist stream, will be in a position to create such a party. The Soviet Union, or what remains of it, may need a left leg more than we do.

Krzaklewski Calls For End to Social Conflicts

AU3008091791 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 27—Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski on Tuesday urged the government and Parliament to analyse the causes of conflicts and find methods to prevent and solve them so that crews would not have to resort to strikes.

In a statement issued in connection with the 11th anniversary of the "August 1980" agreements of Gdansk, a landmark in the struggle for democratic Poland, Krzaklewski referred to the present situation in the country.

Referring to the long-standing strike at the truck plant at Starachowice, southern Poland, the Solidarity leader called on the government not to delay decisions regarding that and other state-owned enterprises threatened by insolvency and unemployment, and choose the least painful methods of getting out of the deadlock.

Krzaklewski also appealed to the Sejm (lower house) to abandon quarrels and pre-election contests which do not help the president and government to introduce proper personnel changes indispensable for a proper functioning of government institutions.

"The Sejm makes it difficult for our union to overcome conflicts by way of negotiations," the Solidarity leader complained.

"Let us celebrate this anniversary of the August agreements, marked by breakthrough democratic processes in the neighbouring countries, at home with our families or at festivities rather than at striking factories," Krzaklewski wrote.

Reportage on Skubiszewski's Visit to Germany

WA2908135691

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to Weimar, Germany, including reports on his talks with German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and the signing of the Weimar Declaration, see the Germany and International Affairs sections of the 29 August West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Sandru Briefs Moscow on New Diplomatic Ties

AU2908201891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1804 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow ROMPRES, 29/08/1991—Romania's ambassador to the Soviet Union Vasile Sandru stated the following to the ROMPRES correspondent in Moscow: I called today on Yuliy Kvitzinskiy, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union, to whom I handed over—as empowered by the Romanian Government—the declaration of the Romanian Government acknowledging the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Moldova and expressing Romania's resolve to establish diplomatic relations and a broad cooperation with the brothers on the other bank of the Prut.

During the same interview I informed Mr. Kvitzinskiy about the recognition by the Romanian Government of the proclamation of independence of Georgia, and two days ago I also called on Mr. Kvitzinskiy to inform him about the decision of the Romanian Government to recognize the independence of the Baltic republics—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—and to establish normal diplomatic relations with them.

Mr. Kvitzinskiy learned about the decision of the Romanian side, stated he would inform the Soviet leadership and specified that according to the Soviet legislation the question of those countries' independence was to be subject to constitutional procedures following which the supreme state power body—the Congress of the People's Deputies of the USSR—will make a final decision on the issue.

For the time being I have noted no other reaction of the Soviet side.

Hungarian Ambassador Views Bilateral Relations

AU2808103991 Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 20 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Erno Rudas, Hungary's ambassador to Bucharest, by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "We Are Aiming for Correct, Balanced Relations"]

[Text] [ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO] Mr. Ambassador, with your permission, we will continue with the conversation we began at the end of October 1990, a conversation that was published in ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO. At the time, I interviewed you just before you presented your credentials. I asked you what plans you had in connection with your work, and among other things, you answered the following: "Basing ourselves on reality, we have to find the existing elements in our relations that enable us to make a start, elements that might help us normalize our relations." Indeed, as you said, "it would be nice to return with some results after one's years as ambassador."

In which direction have relations between our two countries evolved since then? Have you been able to find the elements that could help settle our relations? More that 18 months after the Romanian revolution and almost a year after your appointment as ambassador, have we reached the stage where our two neighboring countries are at least conducting correct relations?

[Rudas] I am pleased that you used the term "correct relations." Indeed, we need a basic change of attitude, and this is something I have said at other times to other people; instead of the empty "friendly-brotherly" slogans of the past, we really need to establish a system of relations between our two countries that is well-founded, correct, and balanced. We are ready to do this. At the same time, we need to realize that it is not easy to establish a new system of relations, and the process does not take place overnight. Nevertheless, we cannot be satisfied, because the changes that have taken place in our two countries could have allowed us to achieve much quicker improvements.

[ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO] As far as the settling of bilateral relations is concerned, in which areas has there been progress, and where do we see stagnation or even regression?

[Rudas] Naturally, all this does not mean that we have not made any progress in the past period; in fact, in some areas, we have achieved serious results. Diplomatic relations between our two countries are continuously trying to resolve existing difficulties and resolve tensions between Romania and Hungary. I would like to mention a few of our achievements in the past period. The Hungarian and Romanian ministries of defense, culture, and education have signed cooperation treaties; foreign affairs consultations have become regular events at various levels; the "Open Skies" agreement was signed; a Romanian parliamentary delegation visited Hungary; several Hungarian and Romanian parties have established relations; and delegations from writers' unions have visited both countries. Documents have been signed on the opening of the House of Hungarian Culture in Bucharest and the House of Romanian Culture in Budapest, and we hope that by the end of the year, both capitals will be more familiar with the cultural values of their neighboring country. Nevertheless, these framework agreements are only worth the content that we fill them with. So our task is to develop real cooperation within these frameworks.

At the same time, there are areas where we have achieved no progress, or domains where affairs are under way. For example, we have the draft treaty presented by Hungary in November 1990, aimed at basing interstate relations on a new foundation, and we have a draft joint statement on national minorities, both of which are still waiting a response. I would like to point out that such a joint statement would not be unique because Hungary signed a similar document with the Ukraine in 1991. Incidentally, this issue leads us to a domain that Hungary is very interested in, namely contacts between citizens. Relations between border counties are developing in an encouraging way, and tourism has increased

incredibly between our two countries. In this past period, several million Romanian citizens have visited Hungary because Hungary is one of the few European countries that Romanian citizens can visit without visas or other restrictions. All this contributes to greater mutual understanding, and anyone who visits Hungary can see whether Romania's image of Hungary is true.

[ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO] Do you still hope that the change of regime in Hungary and the December 1989 events in Romania that led to an historical opportunity and new conditions could be used to improve Hungarian-Romanian relations? Or have we irretrievably missed this great opportunity and advantageous possibility?

[Rudas] European processes and ensuing changes in value systems cannot be stopped. The clear postponement of phases—regardless of their nature—can hold back these inevitable changes, but they cannot stop them.

A great historic opportunity does not last for years. So in the process of faster changes, we can hardly postpone any longer the bringing of positive decisions and the showing of a determined stance against counter-interests. Indeed, the settlement of our relations is of fundamental importance for the populations of our two countries—I stress that I said populations.

[ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO] We know, and our newspaper also reported it, that Hungary and the Hungarian Government sent considerable aid to the flood victims in Moldova. At the same time, the Hungarian Government declared that, in addition to this aid, other types of aid are also ready to be dispatched. The Romanian press and ROMPRES have been largely silent about all this....

[Rudas] So far, the Hungarian Government has sent aid worth 40 million forints to the flood victims in Moldova. The first quick aid left Hungary on 9 August, which was followed the next day by a convoy of 10 trucks carrying medicine, bandages, rubber-boots, bed linen, and protective and working clothes. The Romanian authorities helped the Hungarian authorities take the goods to their destination. However, the Hungarian Government also intends to provide other aid, like inviting 160 children to Hungary to help them overcome the shock. The authorities are now coordinating this visit. If a Romanian request arrives, the Hungarian Government will be ready to provide further aid on the basis of mutual coordination, and even the exchange of experts.

[ROMANIAN MAGYAR SZO] In its declarations, the Hungarian Government has repeatedly stressed that no qualitative change can be imagined in bilateral relations without Romania guaranteeing the national minority rights. Naturally, this does not mean that, from Hungary's viewpoint, our bilateral relations are limited to the problems connected with the situation of national minorities. How does the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest regard these issues now after the Geneva conference on national minorities?

[Rudas] Experts from Europe and the Atlantic areas gathered in Geneva to thoroughly discuss the issue of national minorities, a very important issue from the viewpoint of the new European order of values. Stability is one of the major values in international relations, and we are now living at a time when various structures must be created to guarantee this stability. The national minority issue is an organic part of all this and, in this context, this issue is no longer the internal affair of a given country. We already have basic principles signed by European states, principles that are suitable for achieving this stability and handling the necessary changes. I mean here primarily the Helsinki Final Act, which lays the foundations of and formulates the entire system of modern interstate relations. In the area of national minority rights, we need to codify these rights, determine the control mechanisms, and make all this accepted. In this respect, a progressive decision was made in Geneva. For this important stability to materialize, we need internal changes, guarantees for constitutional order, economic and cultural progress, and new, balanced, and correct interstate relations. This is an inevitable process whose implementation is only a question of time, despite the time-lag between the countries in question. This is also reflected in the differences of approach emerging as early as in the interpretation of various concepts. However, all this should not hinder genuine negotiations, because every country should treat European stability with the greatest responsibility.

[ROMANIAN MAGYAR SZO] Relevant talks will soon continue in Moscow....

[Rudas] At the upcoming conference in Moscow, Hungary wants to further develop the results achieved at the meeting held in Copenhagen, in the sphere of constitutional order and free elections, cooperation in the development of democratic institutions and national minority rights. As regards the latter, Hungary intends to hinder possible efforts aimed at weakening the results achieved so far, and Hungary expects new progress in the area of accepting responsibilities.

[ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO] Our conversation is taking place prior to Hungary's national day. Could you please say a few words in connection with this?

[Rudas] I would say a few words about the changes that took place after the change of regime in Hungary. Following the democratic elections in Hungary, the intensive establishment of a democratic system of institutions and a market economy began. Hungary is trying to become integrated in the world economy, it guarantees freedom of conscience and belief, the freedom of the press and assembly, and it lays a particular emphasis on human rights. It professes and applies the principle of positive discrimination in the area of national minority rights, which lays down in practice the principle of special and distinguished support for national minorities. One example is the fact that schools teaching in a

national minority language receive 50 percent more national subsidy per head than a Hungarian language school.

A new situation arose with the disbanding of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, and Hungary is trying to resolve this by drawing closer to the generally accepted system of institutions in Europe. Hungary joined the Council of Europe and it is holding negotiations on an association treaty with the European Economic Community. This summer, the Soviet forces that had been stationed in Hungary left the country; thereby, Hungary's independence and sovereignty became complete.

We envisage our foreign policy not on an ideological basis, but on the basis of mutual interests and a return to a European value system, through which we endeavor to have balanced relations with our neighboring countries, Western Europe, the United States, the Soviet Union, and other, more distant countries. The international recognition of Hungary's domestic and foreign policy is depicted well by the fact that, in 1992 or 1993, it will become a non- permanent member of the U.N. Security Council with the approval of the Eastern European regional group, as their candidate. Hungary will be more able to contribute to the implementation of the United Nations' aims, and it can actively participate in making decisions that greatly influence the international situation. Another event indicating Hungary's international recognition was Pope John Paul II's visit.

On the occasion of 20 August, the Hungarian Republic's national day, remembering the founding of the Hungarian state, in my capacity as Hungarian Ambassador in Bucharest, I finally wish that the results of our work and activities be mirrored in the improvement of Hungary's and Romania's relations in such a way that it can be practically felt by the population and by every single person in our two countries.

Military Officer on Army Relations, Vatra Party

AU2808100691 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 23 Aug 91 p 7

[Interview with Colonel Constantin Degeratu, commander of the Romanian 4th Tranyslvanian Army Corps, by Kalman Aniszi; in Hungary, date not given: "Rapprochement With Doubts"]

[Text] The Miklos Bercsenyi motorized infantry brigade held a defensive military exercise in Tatarszentgyorgy recently. This exercise was also viewed by a Romanian military delegation visiting Hungary at the invitation of the Hungarian Army. On this occasion, we asked Colonel Constantin Degeratu to grant us an interview:

[Aniszi] Mr. Degeratu! It is well known that the bilateral relations between the Hungarian and Romanian defense ministries and between the leadership of the two armies are quite good. If this word was appropriate here, I would even say that our armies are cordially cooperating. It seems a paradox that, while considerable or even serious differences of views on many issues are prevailing among our politicians, our soldiers are friendly to each other. In your view, what is the reason behind this specific situation?

[Degeratu] Hungarian-Romanian military relations are indeed very good. Cooperation between the two armies has been developing consistently since the events of December 1989, on the basis of the framework agreement signed by the two defense ministers. The Open Skies agreement—an unprecedented agreement in Europe and an example to be followed—also strengthens mutual confidence.

As for the second part of your question, I do not think that there are special conflicts in the relations between our two countries and two peoples. Naturally, in our overall relations, there are some contacts that are worse than we would like them to be, but these are less important cases and much more is spoken about them than is justified. Essentially, the relations between the two countries are natural and normal, and there are possibilities for their further development. As for the relations between the two nations, these relations are very good.

[Aniszi] When I compared our military and political relations and I referred to the former as quite good and to the latter as less satisfactory, I meant that the Romanian political leadership has come up with preconditions, when confronted with the Hungarian foreign minister's offer to hold negotiations. Because these preconditions were unacceptable for us, the Hungarian foreign minister practically rejected them.

[Degeratu] We soldiers are less informed on political and diplomatic matters, especially on matters of detail. However, I think that the joint comprehensive efforts that cover the two countries' diplomatic and political activities will bring results. Complex historical problems are behind the differences of views that burdened our bilateral relations in the past. This led to the present situation in which our bilateral relations are still not so good as we would like them to be. However, the way is now open to real rapprochement, as well as to the clarification and solution of the still emerging historical issues in a European spirit because, after all, our two nations have a common fate.

[Aniszi] I read an article in a Romanian-language daily in Kolozsvar [Cluj] a few months ago. The article analyzed Romania's current situation in Europe and deplored the certain level of isolation Romania is finding itself in today. At the same time, the article pondered the ways Romania could break free from its relative isolation and catch up with Europe. Two of the listed factors (conditions) drew my attention: One was the need to maintain good relations with the Soviet Union by all means because, as the author said, the Soviet Union has always understood us and also helped us whenever necessary in the course of our history; the second condition was the creation of a strong national army, and this

is why I referred to this article. How should one interpret the idea of further strengthening the Romanian national army, when disarmament and troops reductions are predominant in the world today. For example, Hungary has unilaterally reduced the number of its troops and its military machine.

[Degeratu] I regard it as a positive phenomenon that the article in question was dissatisfied with the quality of our bilateral relations at a given time, because the author of the article in question would like these relations to continuously improve. Naturally, I cannot speak of the details of this article, because there are more than 1,000 newspapers in Romania with more than 1 million opinions. Therefore, the aforementioned article is only one of the many views that are published in the Romanian press.

As for the root of the question, namely that the creation of a strong national army would be one of the conditions of strengthening Romania's situation in Europe, this can be interpreted just the way you think....

[Aniszi] I meant that the Hungarian military doctrine is definitely defensive in nature....

[Degeratu] I also interpret this the way you interpret defense and the strengthening of the Hungarian Army.

[Aniszi] Would you describe this more concretely?

[Degeratu] We would like to have an army that guarantees the defense of the interests of the Romanian people, an army with a defensive doctrine, an army that threatens no one—on the contrary, an army that strives to cooperate with the armies of neighboring countries. The military doctrine of the Romanian Army is traditionally defensive in nature, and its soldiers are also thinking in this spirit. We do not strive to occupy other lands, nor do we have any reason for such behavior.

[Aniszi] Recently, the Hungarian-language newspapers in Romania reported that Vatra Romaneasca was now trying to recruit members from the Army, and it was carrying out propaganda to win over officers and even new recruits. However, as far as I know, you also declared that the Army is a politically neutral organization. Therefore, is it true that members of Vatra Romaneasca are active in the Army? If so, how is this compatible with your declared position?

[Degeratu] According to the Romanian legislation, neither the Army nor any other state institution can engage in politics. At the same time, it is only natural that the Army is not at all indifferent to politics, but it cannot serve any political party. As an independent body, the Army serves the policy of the state.

Besides, Vatra Romaneasca is a cultural organization that expresses a certain bourgeois mentality.

[Aniszi] Is the Vatra Romaneasca really an apolitical organization? Is it not engaged in politics?

[Degeratu] Yes, the Vatra is an apolitical organization. I happen to know many intellectuals in Kolozsvar who are members of this organization. As an organization, Vatra Romaneasca is the representation of a certain mood, and sometimes it expresses some anxiety, and we find explanation for this anxiety in that the Romanian people are trying to overcome in the midst of the extremely complex historical contest of Europe. In this European context, inter-ethnic efforts have increased considerably, and this can easily lead to a situation in which these efforts become the main factors of political uncertainty.

Thus, coming close to your question, the mood of individual military persons is not incompatible with the citizens' right to feel and think in harmony with their country's interests. Naturally, this must not become a committed political form of behavior in the service of a political party.

In this respect, the status of Vatra Romaneasca has often been mistakenly interpreted and distorted abroad; at least, this is the way we see it.

[Aniszi] Mr. Degeratu! You know many intellectuals in Kolozsvar who are members of Vatra Romaneasca. Did you also participate in their meetings?

[Degeratu] I was curious, and I wanted to learn the status of this organization. Therefore, I participated in a few of their meetings to make sure whether this is really an extremist organization or not. People were saying a lot of things about this organization! Once they called it a fascist organization; then they called it a Ceausescuist organization, or an Iron Guard organization, and even an extreme-leftist organization, so one could not understand anything. The very same organization cannot be extreme-leftist, extreme-rightist, or center all at the same time. Apart from some declarations of some of its leaders, declarations that could be interpreted as political under certain circumstances, Vatra Romaneasca cannot be regarded as a political organization, just like no one can regard the public mood prevailing inside this organization as a political challenge....

[Aniszi] According to press reports, members of this organization are carrying out propaganda work in the Army.

[Degeratu] I would not say that because propaganda involves organized work....

[Aniszi] Does this organization have activists?

[Degeratu] This is out of question.

[Aniszi] Does that mean that the newspaper reports were lying?

[Degeratu] Propaganda is an expensive thing, and Vatra Romaneasca is one of the organizations in Romania with the lowest capital. As a political party, the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] received 700,000 lei during the election campaign, while

the Vatra Romaneasca did not receive any funds, simply because they are not a political party.

[Aniszi] The RMDSZ is a body that represents and defends interests....

[Degeratu] No, the RMDSZ is a political party that runs in the elections and, regarding its weight, it is the second largest party in Romania.

[Aniszi] What are the relations of the Romanian Army with the armies of the neighboring countries?

[Degeratu] The most important thing for us Transylvanian officers and soldiers is to have the best relations with Hungary, because we are neighbors. If only we had similarly good relations with other armies. Besides, we also have good relations with the Bulgarian, Yugoslav, Soviet, Turkish, and Greek armies, as well as with the more distant ones, like the French, German, and British armies.

[Aniszi] Mr. Degeratu! How do you feel in Hungary?

[Degeratu] I am overwhelmed by the way our delegation was received here. Our hosts—who visited Romania on a similar mission in May—are very attentive hosts.

Manolescu on Program of Civic Alliance Party

AU2908145491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1301 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/8/1991—The difference between the Civic Alliance and its party "merely resides in means and, perhaps, pace of action and the tactics of the moment," Nicolae Manolescu, chairman of the Civic Alliance Party, said in an interview with the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA. As for the programme proper, he said, "we as a party were compelled to ensure our identity and then our allies. In principle, the programme is the very charter of the Civic Alliance."

Showing that his party "understands politics as dialogue, as negotiations, as a compromise with all democratic forces," Mr. Nicolae Manolescu opined that with the exception of rightist and leftist extremists all existing political groups in Romania spoke the same democratic language.

Referring to monarchy in Romania the collocutor opined that "the only democratic means is to consult the people" but that "a referendum here and now is a problem as the people should be correctly informed before an operation to select a form of government is organized. Otherwise, there is the risk of an emotional vote rather than a patriotic option."

In connection with his candidature for presidency Nicolae Manolescu said: "very many people consider the Civic Alliance a hope for this country. It would be intolerable to compromise it through haste, vain glory and political games."

SRI Communique on Civic Alliance Declaration

AU2908150291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1059 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/8/1991—In a communique of its Press Bureau, the Romanian Intelligence Service (SRI) considers that Romania's internal situation "does not offer necessary and sufficient elements for a fascist-communist type adventurist putsch".

The assessment of the internal situation of Romania as made in the declaration-appeal of the first national conference of the Civic Alliance and of the Civic Alliance Party (PAC), says the communique, "does not rely on actual facts, but on the wishful thinking and calculated interests of the authors of the quoted document".

The communique terms as unrealistic the accusations regarding the maintenance of most of the totalitarian communist structures, and the chauvinistic, communist and fascist propaganda among the ranks of the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of the Interior and the Romanian Intelligence Service.

"Such slanderous and groundless statements, and the obvious attempt at denigrating the institutions of the state of law brings serious prejudice to the democratization process in Romania".

Government Reaffirms Policy on Communists

AU2908163191 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1200 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Statement by Government Spokesman Mihnea Constantinescu at a news conference held at Victory Palace in Bucharest on 29 August—recorded]

[Text] Recent events in the Soviet Union have prompted analysis of the distance that the Romanian society has traveled from communism.

This reaction is natural, and we believe that it is part of the irreversible process of rallying European political thought around the same values, the values of democracy. It is very probable that all of us will become part of a united Europe, as events are leading toward fulfillment of the aspirations and most treasured ideals of the majority of the people on the European continent. The speed with which the borders of democracy are expanding requires that politicians everywhere think and act rapidly and efficiently, relating correctly to what existed in the past but also making room for the best of the new world, in the interest of the nation that they are serving.

This can be done through spectacular declarations with great emotional impact—through administrative acts of force, somewhat similar to the methods through which—at least in Romania—communism made room for itself and stifled the democratic society—or, through large-scale structural and institutional changes through which the old systems disappear and democracy becomes irreversible.

The Romanian Government has opted for this last way. It is less spectacular, more difficult, and less rewarding for its public image, but is truly democratic and offers substantial and lasting results.

The government has made efforts to create a legal framework for a state of law, so that the observance of individual rights, political pluralism, free initiative, private ownership, and freedom of speech should become part and parcel of our daily life.

Is it a lot or is it little? It will take time to find out. However, our assumption was and still is—as the prime minister and the government members said—that no democratic government of Romania has the right to slander the history of this nation, accusing and destroying aimlessly, but has the opportunity to complete and continue what the current government has started.

A number of political figures and journalists have started a new attack against the initiatives of the government and reform as a whole. The complaints are not with the government's professionalism, but allege inadequate settling of accounts with communism. It is easy to counter such accusations. Each democratic law and decision adopted so far actually represents an active negation of communism. Through these laws and decisions, the communist structures are not only condemned but, more important, replaced, giving them a new place in history. Furthermore, we believe that the history of communism includes the efforts and responsibilities of the entire Romanian population. We do not pass judgment on the history of a party or on the ideology of communism, but on the history of an entire nation stolen from and lied to for half a century. Is it not part of the past, which we have just cut ourselves away from, for the group in power to rewrite history and identify and punish culprits among the predecessors?

The government appeals to the Romanian people and their institutions for dispassionate illumination of the last half-century in Romanian history, to identify its culprits and make public their criminal acts. This government, and no doubt those that will follow, will grant unconditional support to this national effort, not because it intends to punish or reward, but because it wishes for the Romanian people to regain their national identity and not live in the illusion of their guilt or innocence.

National Bank Governor on Financial Blockages

AU2908143891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1103 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/8/1991—Whoever tries to shift the blame for financial blockage in today's Romania from enterprises to banks, he does it to give the impression that a wonder solution could be used to avoid unemployment and inflation, the Governor of the National Bank of Romania Mugur Isarescu, told a daily ADEVARUL journalist. But this is not the problem. The core of the crisis of Romania's economy are its huge—but hidden—losses. To put it differently, rather than a lack of credits, it is the inefficiency of enterprises that blocks payments.

Mr. Isarescu backed his statements with statistical data showing that the performance of production in the first half of the year was such that a yearly 15-20 per cent drop from the previous year is predictable. So, it is not the lack of credits that should be blamed: a profit-making enterprise is self-sustainable even if price controls were lifted, because it not only pays but also fetches higher prices, therefore not only its expenditures are growing but also its revenues are so. Normally no extra credits would be required. But many Romanian enterprises are not operating normally, they are operating in the red. Besides, their fixed assets bequeathed by the communist regime are underused, and circulating assets are very meager. Adding to that are spiralling prices as well as many hiatuses between supply and sales, a fact that requires a larger-than-usual capital for enterprises to carry on. In times of transition, a larger flow of money acts as a lubricant, to keep production going. However, with administrative price controls lifted, the only way to avert inflation and prevent it from crippling the economy is to put a tight grip on the money supply and on credits, the governor of the National Bank of Romania says.

Federal

Executive Council Welcomes EC Declaration

LD3008130891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Dusko Mandic report from Belgrade]

[Text] At this moment Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic is holding a news conference. Prior to this, he read an FEC statement supporting the EC declaration on Yugoslavia issued on 27 August.

Today's FEC session had two items on the agenda: the EC declaration and the situation in Croatia. A discussion on the second item has not yet ended because not all FEC members are here. The EC declaration was, however, endorsed.

Bearing in mind friendly relations with the EC, the FEC welcomed the declaration on halting evil and the EC readiness to mediate. The FEC stated that it is necessary to reach an agreement without unilateral decisions and forceful redrawing of borders. The FEC also supports the EC proposal for the EC observer mission in Croatia to be enlarged.

The FEC also supports an EC-sponsored peace conference.

The FEC is prepared to take part in all these negotiations, and it urges an immediate meeting of all key Yugoslav players—the Yugoslav Presidency, the republican presidents, and the FEC—in order to prepare the basis for a peace conference and to avoid, as the federal Prime Minister put it, unnecessary casualties.

International

Serbian Minister Views Results of Bonn Visit

LD2808231391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2136 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 28 (TANJUG)—Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said on his return here this evening from Bonn that German officials told him they were prepared to accept any agreement reached by the Yugoslav republics, including alterations of internal borders.

During his two-day visit to Bonn, Jovanovic met with Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher and representatives of the Bundestag and a number of political parties.

In a statement to TANJUG and Belgrade television, Jovanovic said German officials believe that Yugoslavia's problems can be resolved through the agreement of all its peoples and without the use of force.

Underlining that he has not yet seen the text of the latest EC declaration on Yugoslavia, Jovanovic said an "international peace conference would to a great extent depend on its goals and ideas."

He recalled the position of the government of Serbia which primarily takes into account the integrity and independence of the country and said the existing decisions of the state presidency, if observed, could guarantee peace in Yugoslavia.

During the talks with German officials, the stand was set out that internal borders in Yugoslavia are not state borders since they are only of an administrative and economic nature, said Jovanovic, adding that these borders were drawn by a handful of people during the Second World War.

He said that in the event of any republic seceding from Yugoslavia, border issues must be resolved by political, not military means.

Jovanovic said the German officials he talked with pointed to the increasingly active role of the Yugoslav People's Army in the armed clashes in Croatia. They hold that the Army is doing this at its own initiative, he said.

We explained to them that the Yugoslav Army is strictly adhering to the tasks entrusted to it by the state presidency and that its prime role is to separate the warring sides, he said.

We pointed out that the Croatian legal and illegal armed units are intensifying actions against the Serb population and the Army in order to secure diplomatic recognition of Croatia and further internationalize the Yugoslav crisis, Jovanovic added.

The Army must respond to the frequent provocations in order to protect the lives of its members, he said, adding that some circles abroad refuse to accept this fact. This is the reason for the critical stance toward the Yugoslav Army, the Serbian foreign minister said.

Reactor Fuel Rods Exposed To Possible Attack

AU3008093391 Vienna KURIER in German 30 Aug 91 p 15

[Kurt M. Mayer report: "Radioactive Waste From Krsko Nuclear Power Plant Must Be Evacuated"]

[Text] The aggravation of the situation in Croatia has increased the danger of a military attack on the Krsko nuclear power plant in Slovenia. The Krsko power plant supplies 50 percent of its electricity to Croatia. The Yugoslav Army is already concentrating on the reactor's weak points. Members of the Austrian Nuclear Forum, a body of experts, and the Greens have now called upon the Vienna government to take steps before Carinthia and Styria are exposed to the fear of imminent danger.

The fear of an attack on Krsko is not at all unfounded. At a meeting with high-ranking military officers on 5 August, General Blagoj Adzic, chairman of the Yugoslav Army General Staff, discussed ways to win the "final victory" over Slovenia. According to a "secret" protocol, Adzic suggested that the Krsko nuclear power plant should be made "useless" "by an attack on the nuclear waste deposit and external facilities required for operation."

Asked by KURIER, Slovene Energy Minister Miha Tomsic said that "there has been no denial." He added he believes that the protocol is authentic. The nuclear waste deposit is the weakest point of Krsko. Here 300 spent, highly radioactive fuel rods are not stored under the reactor—as is usually the case—but in a separate, much more vulnerable building.

Tomsic says that "we cannot prevent what General Adzic has suggested. An attack on the fuel rods deposit has not been envisaged in our security scenario."

No wonder that insiders in Vienna are alerted and alarmed. Rudi Anschober of the Greens said that "Austria must contact Italy and the International Atomic Energy Agency, so that the fuel rods can be taken to a safe place abroad."

A member of the Nuclear Forum said that "Krsko can only be protected by UN troops."

The Chancellor's Office said that "an evacuation of the fuel rods may now be necessary. However, that would be a matter to be decided by Italy and Slovenia."

Slovenia

Foreign Minister on Calling Security Conference

AU3008090191 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 28 Aug 91 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Dimtrij Rupel by Margit Kocsi in Budapest on 27 August: "A Security Conference Should Be Convened"]

[Text] Slovenia is making great efforts for the peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis and to make its independence internationally recognized. This was clear at Dimtrij Rupel's news conference in Budapest on 27 August. Rupel stated that he had held satisfactory negotiations with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky. He gave a special interview to NEPSZAVA during a break in the negotiations.

[Kocsi] Can you see any possibility for an early and peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis?

[Rupel] It would be very hard to say when this conflict will end. However, Slovenia already has its definite view on the way this war could be ended. We would like to convene a conference like the CSCE.

[Kocsi] Do you think it is possible for the Serbs and Croats to overcome their hatred for each other?

[Rupel] They have to be forced to do so, and it is clear that this can only be achieved by international pressure. Convening a security and cooperation conference in the SFRY with the participation of all sides in the conflict as equal partners offers a reasonable opportunity to start a dialogue. Slovenia is also ready to participate in this conference and to help solve the Yugoslav crisis. However, the idea of a united Yugoslavia, some kind of federation, or even confederation is no longer acceptable to us.

In our view, the recognition of our independence might contribute to the solution of the Yugoslav crisis. The situation in the SFRY is increasingly complicated and laden with incredible dangers. Something has to be done urgently, and we have to clarify important questions. For example, it is a very serious problem that the Serb leadership uses the federal government and the Yugoslav Army for its own military activities that, if I can put it this way, incite hostility. This has to be stopped as soon as possible. Another problem is that the federal organs collapsed or became compromised during the conflict. This is the reason the establishment of a credible forum is essential. The conference on security and cooperation in Yugoslavia could be this forum, where the real forces and real interests could come to the surface, Serbia's undue dominance would not cast a shadow on things, and it would become clear who is who and what each side wants. The CSCE could be a model for us. This forum would have its institutions for Yugoslavia the same way as these institutions exist for Europe, with the purpose being to handle conflicts, internal border disputes, human rights, the problems of national minorities, or economic cooperation, for example.

[Kocsi] Why is international recognition important?

[Rupel] Because that would make our suggestion for this conference credible, and it would help the real forces and interests surface, thereby also helping the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. I was in Austria before coming to Budapest. I found the Austrian Government's attitude to be very positive in our case. Austria is preparing to acknowledge the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. Here, in Budapest, I also found the Hungarian Government's attitude to be very positive although not as forthcoming as the Austrians. The reason is clear and understandable, because they have to take into consideration the fate of Hungarians living in Serbia or, more precisely, in Vojvodina. I am convinced, though, that the conference suggested by us could also help in this case and that we can count on Hungary's full support if we acquire the necessary international support.

Government Presents Economic Situation

AU3008113391 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Slovenia is duly fulfilling all obligations toward its foreign creditors, but is running short of the foreign currency to pay for imported raw materials and capital goods.

Exports exceeded imports by $250 million in the first seven months of this year. Problems occur, however, because the federal administration is not issuing the certificates and permits for carrying out foreign trade.

The Executive Council of Slovenia promises to find the solution in the republican Foreign Ministry, but it seems that they cannot find the solution for the problems stemming from Slovenia's exclusion from the Yugoslav monetary system.

These are only few highlights from the report of the republican government about the fulfillment of the short and long-term measures to improve the Slovene economy. Our correspondent Bojan Veselinovic reports that this document was presented to the deputies of the Chamber of Associated Labor today.

[Begins Veselinovic] The chamber decided at its July session that the deputies will discuss a report on the current situation of the economy and the measures for its improvement in all future chamber sessions. However, measures for the improvement of the economy were lacking in this latest presentation of the document drawn up by the republican government. The document primarily describes the catastrophic economic situation, while the list of measures for its improvement is short.

The government itself admitted that the system of the so-called evident foreign currency rights [evidencne devizne pravice—EDP] for settling foreign obligations did not work out. The negative balance [stanje] in the banks is rising and some banks even limit the dealing with the EDP's with their internal decrees. Each business unit, therefore, including the banks, tries to protect its own interests.

Many problems stem from dealing with foreign partners, as Slovenia and its banks fulfill only the fixed charges and the guaranteed obligations on time. The foreign currency needed to pay for imported goods is lacking because of a great fall in foreign currency savings.

In August the situation improved a little, but Slovene companies still hold $60 million of the backdated, unsettled obligations. Among foreign companies providing security for deals with Slovenia, only a German company, Hermes, decided to reinstate it, while its counterparts in Austria and Italy are still waiting cautiously.

Because the federal administration does not issue relevant import-export permits, the Slovene Foreign Ministry, which is responsible for this sphere, is now supposed to resolve this, although the report of the republican government does not specify how.

Because Slovenia has been excluded from the unified monetary system most problems arise in the monetary politics. The dinar liquidity of the banks is good, but this is so because Slovenia is prevented from using the liquidity loans from the money issue, and because the credit activities of the banks have decreased. There is also a danger that the republic might run out of cash—this is perfectly obvious from the Slovene government's report. For the time being, Peterle's cabinet is not considering the emergency exit, that is, the introduction of our own currency, but has announced the reintroduction of dinar banknotes that have already been pulled out of circulation. Salaries and pensions would be partially paid out in the form of specified checks [specifirani ceki]. Cash also partially drains away to other republics and the amount available is rapidly losing value due to rising inflation.

In July the cost of housing increased most, by some 18 percent. For the time being, the government has rejected a 40 percent price increase proposal for electricity, and a similar demand for an increase in postal services charges. Prices would have grown even faster if salaries had not been on the decrease. On average, companies paid out salaries that were a third lower than salaries those companies could have paid out according to the current laws.

Economic relations with other republics continues to worsen. With an expected smaller inflow of payments from Croatia, which is at war, on top of the problems in the south of the country, there are more than enough reasons for alarm.

Croatia

Mesic News Conference on Presidency Session

LD2908151991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1045 GMT 29 Aug 91

[News conference by SFRY Presidium President Stipe Mesic in the Croatian Assembly in Zagreb with domestic reporters—live]

[Excerpts] [Mesic] You are all aware that the state Presidency met yesterday and the day before yesterday. The day before yesterday the session was not completed because agreement could not be reached on the way to effectively implement and control the cease-fire. Clearly the commission appointed by the state Presidency is not able to do this, and the escalation is increasing. From the day the Commission for the Supervision of the Cease-Fire was formed to the day before yesterday, from day to day and from hour to hour the escalation has increased.

It is clear that there was no political will to arrrive at a cease-fire, because first of all the state Presidency did not name the aggressor. An attempt was made to deceive both the domestic and world public that the organs of the Government of the Republic of Croatia were in conflict with the armed Serbian nation. As you know, this is a new definition, because hitherto it was always described as the unarmed Serbian nation. But that unarmed Serbian nation has in its hands all possible kinds of weapons, including heavy weapons, and it also has a back-up [pratnja], and that is the Yugoslav Army, or to be more precise, parts of that Army and individual military commanders who are supplying in all crisis

centers arms, ammunition, and food to the outlaw groups in enormous quantities.

Mirkovci, to take just one example, which is surrounded on all sides by Croatian villages, the inhabitants of Mirkovci are manning roadblocks on the exits from the village on all sides, so logically their ammunition should run out, especially shells for their high caliber mortars. As you know, hundreds of grenades are being fired daily. The only logical conclusion is that grenades are being moved by military transporters, which are the only ones to have access to the village. The same is true for other flashpoints of crisis, and this is not a secret any more. You have seen what those groups look like. A large number of them are in military uniform, although the Army claims that it has nothing to do with them.

Mr. Irfan Ajanovic tendered his resignation to the cease-fire commission because he realized what has been happening. Without naming the aggressor, it is difficult to implement the truce.

Under this balance of power, it was difficult to conceive how the Presidency could make a decision. Two nights ago, the session was adjourned and it resumed work the day after. Yesterday, before the session started, we received a copy of the EC declaration. You read the text, since it was published in the daily press. I can tell you that its content suprised precisely the Serbian bloc and that they could not pick themselves up. Bora Jovic said that the declaration was like the Cominform resolution; it is an ultimatum to Yugoslavia and Serbia and it was unacceptable. He also saw the proposed mechanisms.

Following long wrangling and discussion, we voted on the declaration. Tupurkovski, Janez Drnovsek, and I endorsed it. Others wanted to have time to consult their leaderships and their republics, and we convened the next Presidency session for Tuesday, when all republics will have to make their views known. You have seen that the state Presidency, the federal government, and the republican presidents will be invited to the peace conference. This means that the peace conference is due to resolve many outstanding issues.

But the declaration states that borders cannot be changed and that unilateral solutions will not be accepted. Due to many unresolved issues, it envisages a mediation process under five presidents of constitutional courts of European countries—I believe we would elect two and three of these presidents [as heard]—and, if we do not agree, then the EC will elect the other two as well. But this, mediation, is just a mechanism that should operate, because they are neutral, competent people who are beyond reproach.

I am not sure that it will be possible to reach an agreement in Yugoslavia, because our representatives in the mediation have to be chosen unanimously. Therefore, the mechanism will probably have to come into effect without us.

However, what we gain with this declaration is the guarantee of borders, a peaceful dissolution. If this is not accepted, however, actions have been signaled that have not been fully defined. What these actions will be remains to be seen, because Europe cannot permit a dirty war to be waged in this country.

All the attempts to deceive the world to the effect that one side is defending itself, yet the defending side is armed from the arsenals of the Yugoslav Army, and far better armed, is something else which this Presidency was unable to agree on. If in Croatia, as the Serbs say and tell the public in their media every day, there is state terrorism, why does Croatia seek monitoring? It is absurd. Croatia is calling for monitoring, but it is being accused of state terrorism. The one who is persecuted does not want monitoring because he says that he does not want internationalization. That means that someone is deceiving in this game. The victims are falling every day, and I believe that this is the last chance to involve European monitoring, to begin talks and to end this dirty war imposed on Croatia. Thank you. [passage omitted]

[Radio Slovenia journalist] How do you explain the fact that the military leadership, without government and Presidency representatives, negotiated with Mr. Tudjman on cease-fire in Croatia?

[Mesic] The Presidency is formally the supreme commander. It is obvious, however, that the Army is acting autonomously and that this has nothing to do with the Presidency. The Army waged the war in Slovenia without the Presidency making a decision about it. The Federal Executive Council —as you know—made a decision on customs control, but the Army moved tanks toward the borders. The Presidency did not decide this. Clearly someone should be held accountable for this.

The Army was allowed by the Presidency—decisions made when the Presidency was not fully constituted and when I was neither the head of the Presidency nor at its session—to decide about the movement of units at crisis flashpoints. However, the decisions did not specify that tanks, aircraft, and artillery can be used. For this, too, someone should be held accountable.

[Macedonian Radio reporter] Mr. President, I remember in Brioni when the Brioni declaration was adopted, it was stated that this was a basis for an institutional solution of the Yugoslav crisis. Now we have a new declaration from the EC. Again I am asking, I asked you there, and I am asking again, do you believe that there will now be an institutional solution to the Yugoslav crisis?

[Mesic] Unfortunately, I have to say that I do not know and am not sure. If we look at what is happening in Croatia, if we see that Serbia and the Army on one side were in favor of pushing Slovenia out of Yugoslavia as soon as possible in order to resolve the situation in Croatia as it is being resolved, so one part of it is occupied and another amputated, because in some people's heads, particularly in Serbia, the idea has developed

that Yugoslavia could remain if Slovenia goes and if Croatia goes and if Macedonia goes. That would only be Yugoslavia in name, but in fact it would be Greater Serbia. If we look at where the crisis spots are in Croatia, we see that a frontier has been drawn and that it is true what Boro Jovic, my colleague in the Presidency, asserts when he says in so many words that the Army will withdraw from all parts of Yugoslavia where it is not accepted, except those parts where people want Yugoslavia. He is speaking on behalf of the Serbs in Croatia and he considers that here they want it, so that this part should remain some kind of rump Yugoslavia. This is again the theory—all Serbs in one state, and all Serbs have the right to this. But he does not ask, what about the Croats in those parts where there are also Serbs living. How is it that the Serbs have the right to live in one state, but the Croats do not? If you tell them this, the reply is that the Croats who remained in such areas would have equality with the Serbs, but they do not accept that where the Serbs remain with Croats they would also be equal. But this is a higher philosophy that has clearly been developed by Mr. Milosevic, but no one in the world believes him any more.

[Austrian Television reporter in English, with superimposed Serbo-Croat translation] Mr. President, there have been movements of naval forces along the Dalmatian coast. How do you interpret these movements, because they are surely or probably not under the dominance of Serbs?

[Mesic] The question of how many Slovenes, Croats, Albanians, Hungarians, Macedonians still remain in positions of command in the operational Army, this is negligible, and it is clear that the Split Naval District is also doing what the military command orders it to do. As Supreme Commander, because under the constitution I realize the Supreme Command on behalf of the state Presidency, I have still not received a single notification of troop movements. They consider that this is not necessary. Why are they doing this? They are doing it because there exists a crazy idea that the problem can be resolved by force. Let us see whether it is possible. The Army, or officers, are angry that recruits are not joining the Army, but they are not going because the Army is serving a policy, Serbian policy, and they do not want to go to war, and not even Serbs want to.

I have to tell you that 50,000—I have the figure from one source—reservists in Serbia have not reported to mobilization points. In other words, they do not want to resolve political problems by war either. So now the Army is indeed in an unenviable position. There are no recruits, so they are trying, by means of a debatable decision, to retain soldiers who have completed their military service for 20 days, because they think that in those 20 days they will solve something, meaning probably the legal regulation according to which recruitment will now be carried out by the Army instead of the organs of administration. And you know that this is also inoperable and that they are unlikely to get new recruits in this way.

The army must return to the barracks. This is the only way to reach a solution. I have said this from the first day the Army appeared in the crisis centers. This is easy to recognize. If one person died before the Army came out, hundreds have died since. If the involvement of the Army is not a solution, it means that they must return to the barracks and that the Army cannot be an arbitrator, because it is also a fact that in all crisis centers the Army has been partial—at the destruction of Erdut, and Dalj, and the occupation of Baranja, and the attack on Pakrac, and Plitvice, and we see it down in Dalmatia. (?It is only surprising that) the Army stopped the attack of Martic's men on Plitvice. Plitvice was surrounded on all sides by Martic's men and the Army did put a stop to it. Whether because some kind of agreement was reached on a truce on Brioni three days ago, or it was pure chance, I do not know, but I also received an assurance from Admiral Brovet last night that the Army would not take part in an attack on Vukovar.

Vukovar is also surrounded on all sides by so-called territorials, which is simply a nice way of saying Chetniks. They are clean-shaven but pure Chetniks. They think that in Slavonija they can seize a municipal town where they would then install a new Serbian Autonomous Region of western Slavonia, where of course they would again have ministries as they do in the capital of Krajina, Knin. They would probably like to do that in Slavonia as well. But I think that Vukovar, for the Chetniks, the Serbs, and the Army, will be Stalingrad. After that, Greater Serbian ambitions will disappear, and if the Army persists, the Army will disappear as well.

[VJESNIK reporter] You have signaled your departure from the SFRY Presidency, Mr. Mesic. I should like to know whether you have set some kind of deadline, whether it is tied to the expiration of the deadline set by the EC, that is 1 September? And can any kind of decisions, even if they are adopted by a majority of votes in the SFRY Presidency, be legal considering the illegality of the four Serbian votes; that is, the fact that the Constitution of 1974 has been violated, so Serbia does not have the right, legally and legitimately, to have those four votes?

[Mesic] They would be legal decisions, but they would not be legitimate because of the way in which the Kosovo president was elected. He was elected by the Serbian Assembly. In the event that, God forbid, something happens to Mr. Sejdo Bajramovic, whom I have nothing against, he is a pleasant person, but he is not legitimate, if anything happened to him, he could be replaced by the president of the Kosovo Presidency, which does not exist. Serbia abolished it, citing the federal Constitution. In other words, when it suits it Serbia invokes the federal Constitution, but when it does not suit it, it keeps quiet. [passage omitted]

We must resolve the political problem, then all those who have taken up arms will realize that they are in fact a tool, the tool of a foolish policy, and they will very

easily rid themselves of the person who involved them and forget him. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reporter] What about your resignation?

[Mesic] You see, I almost overlooked this question on purpose. I did not say that I shall resign, but that I shall not sanction what the Army is doing. So, I shall assess the situation and stop going to unproductive sessions at which we cannot make a single sensible decision. So I can sit in Zagreb and Jovic in Belgrade, and we shall be in contact over the phone. Then we shall see whether or not the Army is acting within the institutional framework. This way, it cites the Supreme Command decisions and I see them less frequently than you.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. President, we have understood that Croatian President Tudjman had set a deadline, 31 August, by which the Army had to withdraw from Croatia. You said that the Presidency would not be able to meet before that deadline. This means from 31 August, you will be the president of a federal body that was implicitly accused of being the culprit in the aggression against Croatia. Will you accept that? One more question, if you say that the Presidency is not in the control of the Army, then would you publicly say that a military coup was carried out in Yugoslavia and that you, as the president of the SFRY Presidency, do not have information of the Information Service, because you cannot just walk into the Information Service and ask for information? [as received]

[Mesic] But I could ask for information, but I do not believe that I would get it. Second, as far as the deadline is concerned, on behalf of Croatia, President Tudjman issued a deadline for receiving answers to certain questions, which I shall not list here. Following this, Croatia will make moves it deems necessary. This means, we shall not start with I-do-not-know-what measures, but it will depend on the situation. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reporter] I was wondering if at some future peace conference you would consider redrawing the boundaries. If the answer is no, what issues would you be prepared to settle by arbitration?

[Mesic] There are very many issues that could be settled by a peace conference. Debts are a problem and how to settle them, federal property is a problem and how to solve it. As far as the borders are concerned, I think that it has been said quite clearly that they cannot be changed. The question can be raised, but they cannot be changed. This is something that the gentlemen in Belgrade have not yet understood. They persist with their slogan—Serbia in one state—and they think that someone is going to fall for it. The borders simply cannot be changed. We can talk about Serbian rights, about the full meaning of these rights, but not about the borders.

I failed to reply to the previous question, I just remembered it—whether a military coup took place. Formally, it did not take place, but it is quite obvious that the Army's action is autonomous. The Presidency is blocked by the actual balance of forces in the Presidency, as neither I nor Bora Jovic can get the fifth vote. Meanwhile, the Army is doing its job. [passage omitted]

Fighting Decreases, Continues in Vukovar

LD2908200291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1836 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, Osijek, August 29 (TANJUG)—Shooting was reported on Thursday afternoon in the area of Vukovar, a town in eastern parts of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. However, it was less fierce than on Wednesday evening.

Armed Serbs from surrounding villages are still keeping Vukovar encircled. Electricity and water supply in the town have been cut.

Head of the Vukovar hospital Vesna Bosanac today appealed that "the attack on Vukovar finally stop," Croatian Radio reported.

A number of women and children are among the wounded at the Vukovar hospital, she said.

There have been no reports on major clashes in Knin, the centre of the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina.

The federal commission in charge of monitoring the ceasefire in Croatia continued work in Knin today but journalists were not admitted to the meeting.

Croatian Radio also reported about movements of military vehicles in the area of the Adriatic town of Zadar, and movements of "300 army vehicles carrying combat equipment towards Sid," a town on the border between Serbia and Croatia.

TANJUG correspondent reported about the passage of tens of tanks and armoured vehicles through Sid.

In the Banija region, fighting is going on in the area of Sunja and near Velika Vranovina and Gredjani.

25 Croatian Guard Members Die in 29 Aug Clashes

LD3008024991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2234 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Vrginmost, August 29 (TANJUG)—Fierce fighting broke out today between members of the Territoral Defence of the municipality of Vrginmost, central Croatia (Banija), and members of the Croatian police and National Guard located in the small town of Topusko. Four members of the Territorial Defence units have been lightly wounded in the fighting while five are still missing.

Representatives of the Territorial Defence of Vrginmost said that 25 members of the National Guard were killed in today's clashes while seven have beem captured.

After a brief lull, fighting around Topusko continues tonight.

Osijek Mortar Fire Continues; Guard Member Dies

LD3008003591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The attack on Osijek is still going on. Following bursts of machinegun fire, aimed at Osijek's industrial zone, mortar fire opened on the Osijek Faculty of Agriculture. According to a report by the Osijek police administration, one member of the National Guard of the Republic of Croatia has been wounded. Shooting still continues as the Army is firing mortar grenades on Tenjski Antunovac, Osijek's industrial zone and the district of Bosutsko Naselje. At the same time, the outlaws from Stara Tenja are firing mortar grenades at the farm of Klisa.

Army Occupation of TV Relay Cuts Programming

LD3008011591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 29 Agu 91

[Text] Since this afternoon the first and second channel of Croatian television have disappeared from the northern Dalmatia area, while the audability of radio programs has also deteriorated. According to a report by the Zadar municipality crisis headquarters, members of the Army have occupied Licka Plesivic, preventing the broadcasting of Croatian TV in the northern Dalmatia area, which is covered by transmitters at Celavac. This transmitter receives its signal from the captured relay transmitter at Licka Plesivica.

Army Column Heading For Slovene-Croatian Border

LD3008083491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Maribor, 30 Aug (TANJUG)—A new column of more than 110 Yugoslav People's Army vehicles left Maribor this morning. The column is heading towards Ptuj and Maclje on the Slovene-Croatian border.

A train with 22 carloads of tanks and heavy military vehicles left the Maribor train station early this morning.

Two trains loaded with more than 1,000 tonnes of military equipment are waiting in the Studenci and Terzno train station in Maribor suburbs.

Supreme Council Endorses EC Declaration

LD3008091291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0605 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 30 Aug (TANJUG)—The Supreme State Council of the Republic of Croatia fully endorsed the EC declaration on Yugoslavia. This is said in a statement from yesterday's session of the Supreme State Council, chaired by republican President Franjo Tudjman.

In a discussion about the EC declaration, it was assessed that the declaration is tantamount to an acceptance of Croatia's principled policy in seeking a peaceful and democratic resolution. The EC stand not to accept the fait accompli policy and forced redrawing of borders was welcomed.

The council—as stressed in the statement—endorsed a proposal on a peace conference on Yugoslavia and, in connection with this, on setting up a mediation commission to consist of representatives of constitutional courts of EC countries.

Draft decisions regarding demands which the president of the Republic of Croatia sent to the SFRY Presidency on 22 August were also considered. The statement reports that republican President Franjo Tudjman convened a session of the Croatian Government, which he will chair, for 31 August. The government will discuss and reach a decision on the basis of Article 102 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia.

4,000 Mothers Confined to Belgrade Barracks

LD3008092291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] More than 4,000 mothers are confined on the premises of the Marshal Tito Barracks in Belgrade. Mothers, as they managed to inform us, spent the night on benches without any food or water. Military bodies are not allowing any contact with them—even journalists are not allowed to speak to them.

Foreign Minister Separovic Views EC Mediation

LD3008092891 Budapest MTI in English 0707 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—"Europe should take further steps concerning the situation in Croatia before the chance for peace is lost. The European Communities have got the proper economic and other means to stop the aggressors. The EC and the United Nations must not be silent any more because the events in Croatia can no longer be qualified as an internal conflict: "There is an international war," Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic said in an interview published in the Friday edition of the Hungarian daily PESTI HIRLAP.

Separovic held talks with Hungarian politicians in Budapest on Wednesday and Thursday.

Asked whether there is a realistic chance of the EC taking international action in case Serbia does not accept by Sunday its warning calling for a ceasefire supervised by European observers, Separovic said, "I am no prophet. For me, it is obvious that the steps the EC have taken so far in the interests of Croatia, were not quick enough. On the other hand, the EC have never accepted the policy of aggression, and it is even more significant that a few days ago they condemned the violent attempts at changing the internal borders. This was the first serious warning by the EC to Serbia and the federal Army. Naturally, the leaders of Croatia highly appreciate this act. The EC now seem to be ready to take large-scale and efficient action and to send impartial international observers into the regions affected.

"Today, we can be fairly sure that a peace conference will be organized for the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. Naturally, Croatia will also take part at such a conference," Separovic said.

TANJUG Reviews 'Relatively Quiet' Night

LD3008101791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0903 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, Osijek, August 30 (TANJUG)—It is was relatively quiet in the crisis areas in Croatia last night, with the usual sporadic shooting and mortar attacks.

Croatian Radio reports that telephone links have been re- established in a part of Vukovar and that 'some of the inhabitants have water and electricity.'

Several machine-gun bursts were fired at the Yugoslav Army (YPA) garrison in Vukovar, but there were no serious attacks. There were no casualties in these two attacks.

Radio Croatia reports that there were no greater clashes in the vicinity of the town, but that several mortars were fired at Borovo Naselje from Serbian villages.

The command of the Osijek garrison (centrally located in the eastern Croatian region of Slavonija) told TANJUG reporter that the night had been relatively quiet.

According to unofficial information from military sources, Borovo Naselje is still a no-man's land, and neither the Croatian Guard and police or armed Serbs from neighbouring villages have full control over it.

There was shooting in Tenja, in the vicinity of Osijek. Mortar and machine-gun fire was exchanged for nearly four hours last night between the old part of the village, held by Serbs, and the new part, where the Croatian Guard and police are stationed.

At present there is no information of possible casualties from last night's battles.

The garrison in Vinkovci last night came under fire, which it returned, according to military sources.

Croatian Radio has reported a mortar attack on the Croatian village of Nustar in the vicinity of Osijek. Telephone links have been interrupted, so that it was not possible to obtain a statement from the other side this morning.

According to reporters it is quiet in the area of Karlovac and Sisak (central Croatia), and only sporadic shooting and mortar fire were heard during the night.

There is no information of fiercer clashes in the area of Kninska Krajina or in northern Dalmatia.

Vukovar Conflict 'Ended'; Sporadic Gunfire

LD3008121491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] The conflict that started at 1000 in the part of Vukovar known as Sajmiste, where the barracks are situated, ended at 1210. Tanks tried to leave the grounds of the barracks via a field road in the direction of Negoslavci. They came, however, across mines laid by the Croatian defense forces. Four explosions were set off. This caused members of the occupying army from the barracks to open machinegun fire on members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP], National Guard, and civil protection. Shooting was also going on from other areas of the upper part of the city, where the snipers are situated. It is worth stressing that members of the Croatian defense forces countered the attack incapacitating one tank and one transporter of the occupying army. The conflict, as we have already said, ended at 1210 and as we are reporting this, there is a sporadic exchange of sniper fire in the upper city according to Vukovar police. The MUP are trying to locate machinegun nests and thus help protect the citizens in this area. Vukovar police possesses information on movements of the occupying forces in the Vucedol region. A convoy of five to six tanks, transporters, and a mobile kitchen is moving in the direction of [word indistinct].

National Guard Forms 'Slavonija Battalion'

LD3008133991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1045 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Osijek, Aug 30 (TANJUG)—Osijek Mayor Zlatko Kramaric told newsmen here this morning that 'LCroatia will not give up Baranja' and added that the newly-formed 'Slavonija Battalion' of the Croatian National Guard was 'already active.'

The mayor of Osijek, centre of Baranja, eastern Croatia, told reporters that the Croatian Government had named its commissioner for the Beli Monastir municipality, who will be based in the locality of Bilje, ten kilometres north of Osijek.

The town of Beli Manastir and most of this municipality, located between Osijek and the Hungarian border, has

since the past few days been controlled by local Serbs who are in conflict with Croatian police and National Guard forces.

Last night, as Osijek police sources said, 38 mortar shells hit Belisce, a settlement on the Drava River some 30 kilometres west of Osijek. Police said Belisce came under fire also from within Baranja.

Police said that Tenja, Laslovo, Sarvas and other Croatian villages near Osijek were targets of last night's attacks. No information was available about possible casualties.

Reportage on Tudjman Visit to France

WA2908182291

For Yugoslav and French reportage on the visit by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to France, including reports on his talks with French President Francois Mitterrand, please see the France section of the 29 August West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Serbia

Corps Command Denies Army Losses Reports

LD2908171891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Tuzla, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—The information service of the Tuzla corps issued a statement today which denies the details of Yugoslav People's Army losses so far on the territory of Slavonija published in certain newspapers in Croatia. According to these data, the statement says, 31 tanks, 12 armored personnel carriers, seven armored cars, one Oganj multiple rocket launcher and six aircraft have been destroyed and six tanks and nine vehicles towing heavy artillery pieces captured.

The truth is however, the statement claims, that in this region one tank and two personnel carriers have been damaged and one aircraft destroyed. Assessing that such newspapers are using lies to raise the morale of the units of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and National Guard Corps, the statement poses the question of whether the facts are known about losses on that side and why they are hidden from the people. [passage omitted]

Army Surrounds 2,000 Croat Guardsmen in Vukovar

AU2908182791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Milena Markovic report]

[Text] Vukovar has been a hell for the past five days. Explosions have been heard again today and there is shooting everywhere. As we have heard, there was a clash between members of the [Croatian] Guard and the citizens of Vukovar, whose homes are being looted by members of the National Guard assisted by the black legion.

Despite this, the Vukovar Crisis Staff is asking via local radio all persons of the age of 15 and older to report to their local communes with arms and shovels, saying that Vukovar cannot fall.

The Yugoslav People's Army has not been involved in fighting so far. It has not been attacked today. The Army units are stationed on the outskirts of the town and surrounded some 2,000 members of the Guard who are using women and children hostages as a human shield. The Guard is demanding safe passage.

The Army barracks in the town is still blocked. Nearby streets and accesses have been mined. Last night, an attempt was made to carry out a terrorist attack on the barracks. The military police successfully repelled the attack.

Macedonia

President Gligorov Speaks on Referendum

AU2908195591 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2000 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Ilija Maksimovski report]

[Text] The president of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, addressed several thousand people in the Stip Aco Sopov Culture Hall, spoke at the Astibo Ready-Made Clothes Factory and had talks with the leaderships of the Stip political parties about the upcoming referendum in the republic at which the Macedonian people and the citizens of Macedonia are going to express their opinion about a sovereign and independent statehood. Here is a report by Ilija Maksimovski:

[Begin Maksimovski recording] The referendum for an independent and sovereign Macedonian state, which includes the possibility of joining a union of independent states in Yugoslavia, represents a national and historic act, as well as a completion of the Macedonian Ilinden uprising. This act of expressing our will means acquiring an identification within the international community and an expression of centuries-long strivings of the Macedonian people, President Kiro Gligorov said.

The referendum will by no means mean Macedonian secession from the Yugoslav community. Macedonia advocates the burying of all former Balkan hatchets and offers to shake hands with everyone who wants honest and equal cooperation, Gligorov said, adding that Macedonia does not demand any change of borders, rather their abolishment.

The referendum represents a historic chance for all Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia, all its citizens, as well as citizens of Macedonia in diaspora, to vote in favor of proving and realizing the centuries-long

Macedonian spiritual ideal: the formation of an independent and sovereign Macedonian state. Further on, addressing several thousand people in Stip, Gligorov said the following:

[Begin Gligorov recording] There are some among those in diaspora, for instance in Aegean Macedonia, who do not feel our state—which they consider to be only a part of Macedonia, Vardar Macedonia—to be their state. [words indistinct] at this moment that there is no other place in which every Macedonian can express his sovereignty. [applause]

People from Australia, Canada, Sweden, and other European countries, from the United State of America, [words indistinct] from the Aegean and Pirin Macedonia ask to be allowed to vote. [applause]

(?I would like) this referendum of ours to become an all-Macedonian referendum in favor of the unity of the Macedonian [word indistinct]. [applause]

Our policy is to offer a friendly hand to all our neighbors. We would like to have friendly peoples all around us, open borders, and the ability to move freely in the Balkans and Europe. We do not want to be a closed country, an autarkic country, to be [words indistinct]. Macedonia is a small country, but it needs air, a wide area. It does not want to occupy territories belonging to others. It does not have such ambitions. The Macedonian people's [word indistinct] is reflected in their wish to abolish borders, so that our people can move freely through Aegean and Pirin Macedonia, through Albania— it is estimated that there are 30,000 Macedonians living in Albania today—and so on. All those people should be spiritually united in one cultural arena, allowed to share economic cooperation, and live, work, and develop together.

This is the message that today's Europe is sending to all people in Europe. [end recording]